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CHINA
TAKES HER PLACE

Four Hundred Million Customers
I Speak for the Chinese
Master Kung
The Chinese Are Like That
He Opened the Door of Japan
Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom
Meet the South Americans
Japan's Dream of World Empire: The Tanaka Memorial
The Great American Customer
China Takes Her Place

CHINA

TAKES HER PLACE

By

CARL CROW



Harper & Brothers Publishers

NEW YORK *and* LONDON

CHINA TAKES HER PLACE

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INTRODUCTION

IT HAS always been difficult for me to talk to the average American about present-day China because we have two entirely different standards by which to measure Chinese accomplishments. They apply the American yardstick and find the Chinese woefully deficient in everything. My yardstick is essentially a different one. I was fortunate enough to be a resident of China, not a visitor, during the last days of the Manchu rule; saw the twilight descend on that once powerful dynasty and saw the troubled dawn of the republican regime. From that time until 1937 I looked on China as my home, lived there except for two very brief periods.

Thus it is that a journalistic or official visitor to China will find conditions which fill him with gloom and foreboding, while I find reason for confidence and optimism. I cannot do otherwise than judge China by her accomplishments, by the progress I have seen her make during a period of more than a quarter of a century. That progress has been consistent, often under conditions which would have broken the spirit of a people with less courage and determination.

So it is with complete confidence that I hail China as one of the great nations of the world, a nation which will carry the light of democracy to the millions of East Asia.

EXTENSION

C. C.

New York, July, 1944.

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CHRONOLOGY

1911. ACCIDENTAL explosion of a bomb in Hankow on October 10 led to the premature outbreak of the republican revolution. The movement quickly spread through the Yangtze Valley and the southern provinces. The Manchus called on Yuan Shih-kai to put down the rebellion but he delayed taking action. Practically all resistance by the imperial forces had ceased by the end of the year. A number of provincial delegates met in Nanking late in December and elected Sun Yat-sen as president of the republican government of China. The Japanese Minister in Peking announced that Japan would never recognize a Chinese republic.

1912. Republican capital set up in Nanking and Sun Yat-sen inaugurated as president January 1. Boy emperor of China formally abdicated on February 12. After retaining his office a few months, Sun Yat-sen resigned in favor of Yuan Shih-kai and the government was moved to Peking in April. A provincial constitution was formally promulgated by parliament, consisting of delegates from the provinces. Most of them were members of the Kuomintang.

1913. Yuan Shih-kai negotiated a reorganization loan of \$24,000,000 from foreign bankers. Strengthened by this loan, Yuan defied the Kuomintang and arrested the members of parliament who belonged to that party. Later he abolished parliament, replacing it with an advisory committee of his own selection. Sun Yat-sen

and Huang Hsing organized an unsuccessful expedition against him. Sun Chi-jen, prominent Kuomintang leader, assassinated in Shanghai.

1914. Yuan abolished the provincial assemblies and promulgated a new constitution in which all powers were vested in the president. Sun Yat-sen went to Japan to organize a revolutionary party among Chinese living there to overthrow Yuan. In November, he married Miss Soong Ching-ling. Late in December, Yuan observed imperial religious rites by worshiping at the Temple of Heaven. In August Japan sent an expedition to attack the German garrison in Tsingtao and in her military operations occupied much more Chinese territory than had ever been held by Germany. The German forces surrendered before the end of the year.

1915. A few of Yuan's followers organized a propaganda campaign for restoration of the monarchy. Yuan was preparing to occupy the throne but postponed this action when warned against it by foreign powers. In January Japan presented to China the famous "twenty-one demands," acceptance of which would have made China a Japanese colony. Under pressure from Great Britain and the United States, some of the demands were withdrawn but others were accepted, giving Japan a political foothold for further aggressions. At the end of the year a serious rebellion broke out in Yünnan.

1916. A great many provinces declared their independence of the Peking government and some of Yuan's friends advised him to resign the presidency, but he refused. The Kuomintang organized a provisional government in Canton and elected Li Yuan-hung as president. Yuan Shih-kai died on June 6 and Li Yuan-hung succeeded to the presidency. For a time the country appeared to be united.

1917. Fears that China would join the World War

on the side of the Allies and thus gain a seat at the peace conference led Japan to negotiate a series of secret treaties with Great Britain, France and Italy, pledging these powers to support Japan's claims to the former German possessions in China and the Pacific. Largely as the result of representations made by the United States, China broke off relations with Germany on March 14 and declared war on August 14. Chinese troops took no part in the war, but several hundred thousand Chinese were recruited by the French and British for labor duty. The stability of the Peking government was threatened by the plots of a group of military leaders. Li Yuan-hung, as president, asked Chang Hsun, former supporter of the Manchus, to send his troops to Peking. Chang seized this opportunity to restore the monarchy and placed the boy emperor on the throne. Li Yuan-hung was driven from Peking, and was succeeded in office by Vice-President Feng Kuo-chang. A coalition of other war lords drove Chang Hsun out of power and sent the boy emperor back to private life. In September the Kuomintang organized another provisional government in Canton and elected Sun Yat-sen generalissimo. Political power in Peking was seized by a coterie of military politicians, known as the "Anfu group." Hsu Shih-chang was given the office of president but the real ruler of the country was Tuan Chi-jui, generally believed to be a tool of Japan. Revolution in Russia followed by establishment of a Communist government.

1918. In return for loans from a group of Japanese banks the "Anfu group" gave away many valuable concessions, mining rights, timber rights, railway concessions, etc. Much of the money went into the pockets of members of the group. The Peking government was more or less openly dominated by Japan. The Canton

government controlled only a small area. Many distant provinces were virtually independent.

1919. Both the Peking and the Canton governments sent delegates to the Versailles Peace Conference but they presented identical demands for the return of the former German possessions that had been seized by Japan. They also asked for the revision of treaties and other matters which the Versailles Conference had no power to decide. The demand for the return of German property was denied and Japan's possession was confirmed. The Chinese delegates refused to sign the peace treaty but made a separate treaty with Germany in which the latter's extraterritorial rights were canceled. This was really the first breach in the wall of foreign special rights, but the Chinese were so chagrined over the failure to oust Japan from Shantung that little attention was paid to this really important diplomatic victory. Announcement of the terms of the Versailles Treaty led to a widespread and very effective boycott of Japanese goods. Students in Peking staged a demonstration against the pro-Japanese government and soon there were similar demonstrations in all parts of the country. A report showed that China had more than two million cotton spindles, three times the number in 1912. During the same period the production of coal and iron had more than doubled. The Soviet government voluntarily surrendered its extraterritorial rights.

1920. The "Anfu group," which had ruled Peking for several years was now threatened by a trio of war lords, Wu Pei-fu, Chang Tsao-lin and Tsao Kun. The three combined for the purpose of driving Tuan Chi-jui from power. The United States government, in an attempt to put an end to reckless borrowing and the granting of special concessions brought about the organization of an international financial consortium which would

control all foreign loans to China. At a conservative estimate half a million Chinese died of starvation because of floods and famines. Cornerstone for the new Jardine-Mathson Building laid in Shanghai, the beginning of a local building boom which was to last until 1937.

1921. The United States government called the Washington Conference which established naval ratios for the United States, Great Britain and Japan, temporarily blocking Japan's powers of aggression. The nine powers represented at the conference signed a treaty pledging themselves to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and promised the gradual surrender of special rights and privileges. The conference set up machinery for the discussion of all pending Chinese problems. In fact China secured at this conference almost all she had hoped to get at Versailles. Before the end of the year China had negotiated a treaty with Japan providing for the return of Shantung areas to Chinese sovereignty but confirming Japan in possession of certain mines and other properties. Troops from Yünnan invaded Szechuen Province and clashed with troops under Wu Pei-fu. Chinese Communist party organized.

1922. The coalition between Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tsao-lin did not last long and Wu drove Chang back to Manchuria. In an attempt to unify the country, which appeared to have some hope of success, Wu restored Li Yuan-hung to the presidency. The parliament which Yuan Shih-kai had dissolved was reconvened. Li was soon driven from Peking by palace intrigues, and other plans for unification failed. Sun Yat-sen fell out with other leaders in Canton, was driven from office and for a time was in exile. Japan signed the Nine-Power Treaty guaranteeing to respect the sovereignty,

independence and territorial rights of China and returned the former German possessions which she had seized. More than thirty thousand Chinese seamen struck in Hong Kong and fifty thousand other workers struck in sympathy, the first large-scale labor demonstration in East Asia. Japan withdrew the troops she had sent to Siberia at the time of the revolution.

1923. As the result of open bribery the parliament which Wu had reconvened elected Tsao Kun as president and a "permanent" constitution was adopted. The president-elect was Wu Pei-fu's supporter and Wu was the real ruler in Peking. Devastating earthquake in Japan delayed that country's plans to invade China. All foreign postal agencies in China were abolished. Sun Yat-sen sent Chiang Kai-shek to Moscow to study the organization of the Red army.

1924. Chang Tsao-lin marched on Peking, defeated Wu's troops and ejected Tsao Kun from the presidency. The defeat of Wu was blamed on the defection of one of his adherents, Feng Yu-hsiang, famous as "the Christian general." Sun Yat-sen, back in power in Canton, convened the "First National Congress," composed of members of the Kuomintang. It adopted a party constitution and issued a manifesto regarding domestic and foreign policy. In another attempt at unification, the northern leaders called a "reorganization conference" which would represent all contending elements and Sun went to Peking to attend it. Before his arrival the northern leaders were quarreling again. Pu Yi, the former emperor of China took refuge in the Japanese Legation in Peking, and later placed himself under Japanese protection in the Japanese concession of Tientsin.

1925. Sun Yat-sen died in Peking on March 12. On

tang. Feng Hu-hsiang who had helped Chang Tsao-lin defeat Wu Pei-fu now turned on Chang, defeated him and drove him back to Manchuria. Forty thousand Chinese employees of Japanese cotton mills in Shanghai struck for better pay and better treatment by Japanese foremen. A crowd of students, demonstrating in front of a police station in Shanghai, was fired on by order of a British police sergeant of the International Settlement and nine were killed. Workmen and students in Canton staged a parade in protest over this incident and were fired on by British troops, more than fifty being killed. These two incidents led to prolonged and widespread strikes, especially in the British crown colony of Hong Kong, whose trade was paralyzed. The strike lasted for fifteen months. Cornerstone was laid for new customhouse in Shanghai. Increasing prosperity of Shanghai was reflected by the plans for the construction of many modern buildings, including the first skyscrapers in Asia.

1926. Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tsao-lin, united once more by their common hatred of Feng Yu-hsiang joined forces and drove him into Mongolia. Chiang Kai-shek, backed by the reorganized and greatly strengthened Kuomintang, began his victorious march from Canton to carry out the military unification of the country. He was aided by many Communist military advisers and propagandists. Wu Pei-fu was the principal adversary in the north but by the beginning of winter his forces had been eliminated and Chiang was in possession of the Wü-Han cities, where a temporary capital was set up. Delegates representing the foreign powers met in Peking and agreed to give China complete tariff autonomy, while China agreed to abolish all inland transit taxes, known as *likin*. An agreement was reached providing for the reorganization of the court dealing with

Chinese cases in the International Settlement. Its effect was to surrender some of the powers formerly held by the foreign assessors who sat with the Chinese magistrates.

1927. Nationalist troops entered Nanking on March 27, looted foreign houses and killed a number of foreigners. British and American troops landed in Shanghai where it was thought that foreign lives and property were in danger. Japanese troops stationed at Tsinanfu prevented Chiang Kai-shek's troops from marching on Peking. National Government set up in Nanking. By the end of the year an anti-Communist movement was in full swing, with all known Communists either in jail or in hiding. An attempted Communist coup in Canton was ruthlessly suppressed, many Chinese as well as Russian Communists being killed. Formal diplomatic relations with Russia severed in May. At a conference held in Moukden by Japanese military men and diplomats, a detailed plan for the conquest of Asia was discussed and Baron Tanaka drew up his famous memorial to the emperor.

1928. Feng Yu-hsiang who had returned to Honan Province and Yen Shih-shan the governor of Shansi Province, joined forces and made an unsuccessful attack on Chang Tsao-lin who continued to rule Manchuria under the protection of the Japanese army. Yen and Feng now joined the National Government which had been set up in Nanking. Reinforced by the support of these two leaders, the Nationalist armies began a northward advance on Peking over the Tientsin-Pukow railway. In May there was a serious clash with Japanese troops at Tsinanfu, leading to a partial reoccupation of Shantung by Japanese forces. The Nationalist troops entered Peking in June and Chang Tsao-lin again retreated to Manchuria. He was killed by a Japanese

bomb as his train was entering the railway yards of Moukden. His son, Chang Hsueh-liang became a supporter of the Nanking government. In October all governmental machinery was moved from Peking to Nanking and the name of the old city was changed to Peiping. While Chiang Kai-shek held dictatorial powers in the National Government he surrendered his civil posts to others as rapidly as men could be found to fill them and devoted his time to his duties as commander in chief of the Nationalist armies. The Chinese government abolished the use of the old lunar calendar. Japan signed the Pact of Paris, renouncing war.

1929. On February 1, with the consent of all the great powers, China assumed complete control of her own customs and put her own tariff schedule into effect. It brought in greatly increased revenues and provided a measure of protection for growing infant industries. A number of smaller nations voluntarily surrendered their extraterritorial rights, agreeing that their nationals be tried or sued in Chinese courts and under the provisions of Chinese laws. China had for several years been making rapid progress in adopting modern laws and reforming her court procedure. Great Britain voluntarily restored to China its concession at Chinkiang, important port between Shanghai and Nanking. Belgium consented to the cancellation of her concession in Tientsin. A political faction representing leaders from Kwangsi Province set up a provisional government in Hankow. An anti-Nationalist group seized Chefoo. Both factions were soon suppressed. China National Aviation Corporation formed—a joint Chinese and American enterprise. There was an armed clash with Russia over Russian rights in the Chinese Eastern railway in Manchuria. Sun Yat-sen's body deposited in mausoleum in Nanking with impressive ceremonies.

1930. Yen Shih-shan and Feng Yu-hsiang who had joined the National Government at Nanking grew jealous of the power and prestige of Chiang Kai-shek and attempted to overthrow him but failed. Another reorganization of the Chinese court in the International Settlement of Shanghai removed the last vestige of foreign control. Great Britain returned to China the British concession at Amoy, and the naval station at Wei-haiwei.

1931. On the night of September 18-19 Japanese troops seized Moukden practically without a struggle. The pretext was a supposed mutiny in the Moukden arsenal. The Chinese government decided to lay the case before the League of Nations and ordered Chinese troops to retire with as little fighting as possible. This was the first important case the League had been called upon to adjudicate. Yangtze River flood set new high water record; the Wu-Han cities submerged.

1932. The Japanese navy made demands on the Chinese officials of Shanghai and although these demands were accepted the navy landed marines and attacked the city. Chinese troops stationed in the neighborhood put up such a stiff fight that the Japanese army had to land troops to assist the navy. The Nanking government was unprepared for an all-out war with Japan and ignored this clash which was settled after a few weeks of fighting. The Japanese brought Pu Yi, the last Manchu emperor, to Manchuria and prepared to install him as the emperor of the newly created state of Manchukuo. The League of Nations, after an exhaustive investigation, found Japan guilty of aggression and violation of treaty pledges. China established an aviation school with American instructors at Hangchow. Diplomatic relations with Russia resumed.

1933. The League of Nations attempted to enforce

its decision against Japan and Japan withdrew from the League. Japanese troops, acting in the name of the puppet government of Manchukuo, annexed the province of Jehol, an important strategic area near Peking. The Nanking government was forced into a number of humiliating compromises to appease the Japanese. One was an agreement to demilitarize a section of North China. Communists driven out of Kiangsi Province. Train ferry service between Nanking and Pukow, across the Yangtze River inaugurated. Chinese government successfully established a uniform system of currency, abolishing the use of the tael (a weight of silver) in all commercial transactions. Standard silver dollar replaced all provincial dollars. Unprecedented drought in the Yangtze Valley.

1934. Pu Yi officially inaugurated as emperor of Manchukuo. The National Economic Commission, organized by the National Government, announced plans for linking all of China with a network of highways. The plan included the building of ten thousand miles of highways in western China. Highways were being rapidly built in all parts of the country. Chiang Kai-shek delivered three important secret lectures in Kuling. Yellow River flood. New Life movement inaugurated. Six-year plan for ending opium traffic adopted.

1935. A northern military leader, backed by Japan, declared a section of North China to be "autonomous." Japan began to press for the "autonomy" of five northern provinces. Backed by the Japanese army, Japanese manufacturers poured millions of dollars worth of goods into North China without payment of duty. China had fifty-six thousand miles of highways in operation, all of which had been built since 1920.

1936. Anti-Comintern Pact, to which Italy adhered later, signed by Germany and Japan. Minor revolts

staged in Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces in attempt to force more positive action against the Japanese. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek kidnaped by Young Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang at Sian. China had been making such progress in education that the country had about three hundred thousand primary schools attended by half the children of school ages. Bridge across the Chien-tang River at Hangchow completed. The Canton-Hankow railway completed in September. Railway between Kashung and Soochow opened to traffic. First mass marriages as result of the New Life movement.

1937. On July 7, Japanese troops, engaged in night maneuvers fourteen miles southwest of Peiping reported that they had been fired on and the long-expected invasion of China began. Large-scale fighting broke out a few weeks later when the Japanese attempted to drive Chinese troops out of Peiping. The plans of the Japanese army were to confine the fighting to northern China, but the Japanese navy massed great strength at Shanghai. Attacks on the Japanese navy by Chinese airplanes on August 13 brought the whole country into the war. Chinese forces resisted stubbornly but were slowly driven back. The Japanese army occupied Nanking on December 13, and Hangchow before the end of the year. Chinese government officials moved to Hankow and the capital was set up in Chungking. The American gunboat, "Panay," was sunk by Japanese airplanes on December 12.

1938. Hankow fell to the Japanese in October and the national capital was moved to Chungking. With the fall of Hankow the Chinese armed forces devoted themselves to guerrilla warfare, constantly harassing Japanese garrisons. When the fighting started a great many large and small factories located in areas threatened by Japan, were removed to western China and set

up there. More than three hundred of these establishments were in operation in Chungking and Kunming. Many universities which had been destroyed by Japanese aviators were also re-established and frequently in "Free China." The People's Political Council, composed of two hundred members of the Kuomintang, was set up in Chungking as a kind of provisional parliament.

1939. The "Burma Road," linking Chungking and Rangoon, was opened for traffic. Work started on a railway to connect Kunming with Lashio in Burma. Chungking severely and frequently bombed by Japanese aviators. Wang Ching-wei deserted the Chungking government to set up a puppet regime at Nanking, with Japanese support. More than four thousand miles of new highways in western China built.

1940. Japanese invaded Indo-China, cutting off military supplies formerly shipped over the French railway from Haiphong to Kunming. The Berlin-Rome-Tokyo tripartite alliance replaced the Anti-Comintern Pact. Yielding to pressure by Japan, Great Britain closed the Burma Road for three months.

1941. Vichy government allowed Japanese troops to occupy Indo-China. President Roosevelt ordered American marines withdrawn from China. On December 8 Japan made sneak attack on Pearl Harbor followed by declaration of war against the United States and Great Britain. China declared war against Japan, Germany and Italy. Hong Kong surrendered to the Japanese.

1942. The United States and Great Britain announce intention of relinquishing extraterritorial rights in China. Madame Chiang arrives in New York for extended visit to the United States.

1943. President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek hold historic conference in Cairo.

CHINA
TAKES HER PLACE

Chapter I

400 MILLION GUINEA PIGS

THE British journalists in Shanghai said we would never make a success of the *China Press*, the American newspaper which we established there in 1911, just before the downfall of the Manchu dynasty. They detailed a lot of reasons for this opinion, but the only one which appeared logical to me was a very practical one; that is, very practical from the viewpoint of an American newspaperman who was rather cocky about his ability to lay out an attractive front page. They said that with the American style of filling the front page with important news, each story with its own individual headline, it was necessary for us to have a certain number of stories of a more or less fixed standard of importance every day; and Shanghai and China afforded such a dearth of news that there would never be enough stories to meet our mechanical requirements. The British papers filled their front pages with advertisements so they had nothing to worry about if the run of news was light.

One of my early Shanghai friends was Richard Wood, of Aberdeen, reporter on the British afternoon paper. His broad Scotch accent was a fascinating linguistic puzzle to me, and, as I was fresh from Texas, my speech and manners provided him with a constant and undisguised source of amusement. It wasn't until we had chummed around together for several weeks that each

could be tolerably certain of what the other was saying. He was persistently pessimistic about China as a source of news. He solemnly assured me that so few things happened in China that two or three good stories a week were about all one could reasonably expect and that sometimes weeks went by without disclosing a single event of any importance.

"But with four hundred million people!" I protested.

"Aye, laddie," said Richard, "but *four hundred million* guinea pigs could live a hundred years without one of them ever doing anything interesting enough to get his name in the paper! The only important people in China are the Manchus and they don't do anything but collect taxes, and most of them live in Peking and telegraph tolls are high!"

Richard and I were of about the same age, which, in retrospect, appears very juvenile, but he had been in Shanghai almost a year, and I looked up to him as to a man with the experience and wisdom of a veteran. He compensated me for my esteem by showing me how to report cases to the British police court, and taught me the ropes in what was to me a strange city in a strange country. This gave him many opportunities to din into my ears his theories as to the relative unimportance of anything that might happen in China and to point out the dearth of news we gathered on our daily rounds. He told me what a lot of important things happened in his home town of Aberdeen and I mourned the lively days of Fort Worth, where, if nothing else happened, we were sure of a fairly regular supply of homicides.

All the other British journalists agreed with Richard that sooner or later we would have to abandon our style of make-up and adopt their simple and comfortable system which seemed to be devised for a country where nothing happened. The local British newspapers

contained but two main headlines, both appearing on inside pages, and these were never changed.

One read: LATEST TELEGRAPHIC INTELLIGENCE, and the other, LOCAL AND GENERAL News. Then there were a few of smaller importance such as SHIPPING NOTICES and COMPANY MEETINGS and NOTES ON NATIVE AFFAIRS. The latter was of the least importance and was often left out entirely because there was nothing connected with native—that is, Chinese—affairs that was worth wasting space on. As the copy from various sources came in and was set in type the Chinese printers simply sluiced it into the proper compartment in the paper where the reader could find it with no difficulty and read it or not, just as he liked. There were no tricky headlines to deceive him into wasting time over something that did not naturally fall within the circle of his interest.

It was a matter of national as well as professional pride with us to make a success of the American-style newspaper we had started, but as time passed there were many occasions when I thought that Richard and the other Britons might be right. After I had learned the town by a few weeks of reporting, it became my responsibility to make up the paper, and every day I went to the office with the nightmarish dread that there wouldn't be enough news to fill the front page with headlines of respectable importance. Frequently we had to give a false typographical importance to events, for the news that came to us from the outside world was almost as scanty as that which we were able to dig up from the few local news sources. Aside from a German news report which was supplied to us free, the only cable reports received in China were from Reuters' agency and were edited in London, principally for the benefit of readers in India. This Reuters report was cut

down in Bombay before being sent on for publication in Hong Kong and Shanghai. By the time it got to us the full stream of world news which had left London had become an uncertain trickle, in which we would occasionally find huge gobs of indigestible details about Indian finances which were not of the slightest interest or importance to us. At first, it was rather irritating and puzzling to us expatriate Americans to see all news from home published as London date line, even the returns of American elections. Richard, who had the Scotsman's detached point of view on British affairs, told me this was done to impress Indian readers with the overwhelming importance of the British capital, relegating Washington to the same position as Colombo, Hong Kong or Lahore. It was not, by the way, until after America entered the Great War that Reuters' news reports which were sent to all parts of the British Empire, accorded Washington and New York the dignity of date lines of their own.

Richard was right in his contention that happenings in China were seldom worth writing a story about. That is, little happened that ever reached the greedy ears of those of us who had to fill the columns of the newspaper. In Peking, the Manchu princes plotted for power and wealth, and high officials who had given offense were sent silken cords with which to strangle themselves. Those of lesser importance were not given the grace of an opportunity for suicide but lost their heads at the hands of the executioners on whose swords the blood seldom had an opportunity to dry. In the provinces powerful officials accused wealthy men of imaginary crimes and impoverished them before setting them free. Fortunes were made and stolen in every provincial capital, heads were chopped off, whole districts were wiped out by famines—enough of great human interest

happened every day to fill the newspapers of the world, but we heard little of it—except in the form of obscure and unreliable rumors, and usually very stale rumors at that.

The older British newspapers published in China had been edited on the theory that London was the news center of the world, and other parts of the British Empire came next. After that came the interests of foreigners in China; and the activities of Chinese or events in China were of importance only as they affected the lives or interests of foreigners. The fact that a sneak thief had made an unsuccessful attempt to rob the home of a foreigner would be treated as news of the first importance, but if a gang of bandits robbed an entire village and carried some of its leading residents to the mountains to hold them for ransom, the event would usually be covered by a few lines. Tom Millard¹ who founded the *China Press* and was its first editor had different ideas. In fact he had established the *China Press* as an organ which would promote closer relationships between Chinese and Americans, enable each to understand the other better. Personal contact with Chinese was provided by several Chinese members of the board of directors. They were in the office frequently, with their neatly braided pigtails hanging down the backs of their silk brocade jackets. Mr. Millard impressed on members of the staff that he wanted news about China, not just about Shanghai or the foreigners who lived in China. He said we should try to cover the news about China in the same way that the big New York newspapers covered the news of the United States.

¹ Thomas Franklin Fairfax Millard was a well-known war correspondent and author of a number of authoritative books on the Far East. He founded the *China Press* in Shanghai and, later, *Millard's Review*, which as the *China Weekly Review*, was edited for many years by J. B. Powell. Mr. Millard died in 1943.

The paper was barely started before he had an opportunity to show what he meant by this policy. The Yangtze was suffering one of its periodical floods, with thousands drowned and millions made homeless. The news we got about the flood was sketchy and incomplete and Mr. Millard decided to send me on a trip through the flooded area so that I could write an eyewitness account of the disaster.

This meant a six-hundred mile trip up the Yangtze to the Wu-Han cities of Wuchang, Hankow and Hanyang, which are grouped around the area where the Han River flows into the Yangtze. It was a glorious adventure for me, gave me an opportunity to see a large part of China when everything was new to me and impressions were vivid and lasting. I saw starving refugees, interviewed priests, missionaries and officials of the Manchu government. My stories aroused considerable interest in Shanghai and foreigners joined in a very successful movement to raise money for the relief of the flood sufferers.

On my return from the trip up the Yangtze I could not help noting the detached interest the residents of the International Settlement of Shanghai took toward the natives of the country in which they lived. To them the four hundred million who made up the population of the empire comprised an unknown and forgotten group of individuals whose lives were of no importance except as they impinged on the lives of some member or group of the white race. They might well have been guinea pigs so far as their domestic activities were of any value in filling the newspapers, for the foreigners who read our papers took but a whimsical and casual interest in their affairs. Having had a glimpse of the rich drama of Chinese life in the interior, I was always looking for some of the many stories which I knew

were to be found in every community, but with little success.

In fact, I recall but one really good story that came out of that great blank hinterland of China during the last months of Manchu rule, and that was interesting, rather than important. The old eunuch who had served the famous empress dowager so long and faithfully and with such great profit to himself, died; and then it was discovered that he was as other men, was not a eunuch and should never have been allowed to live, as he had, in the inner courts of the Forbidden City, the trusted companion and servant of the ladies of the court. We got a scoop on that curious story solely because the local British papers thought it was too scandalously indecent to publish.

One night (October 11, 1911) when the prospects for enough headlines to fill the front page looked very bleak indeed, through an unusual channel we received an unexpected telegram from Hankow, the city I had visited only a few months previously. The telegram was unexpected because we had no correspondent in Hankow and the channel through which it came to us was unusual because it was not addressed to us but to the Associated Press in Peking. The contents of the telegram gave some hint as to the reason why a telegram intended for Peking should be delivered to a strange address in Shanghai, for it told of a revolt against Manchu rule which had broken out the previous day—an apparently successful revolt—of some provincial troops in Hankow. It said the rebels, having gained an initial victory over the local garrison, had announced that they had comrades in all important cities in China. The rebels also said it was their intention to overthrow the Manchu dynasty and set up a republican form of government for China.

It was obvious that the telegraph operator who had received this message in Hankow did not dare send news of this alarming and disrespectful nature direct to the seat of Manchu authority in Peking. Heads had been chopped off for much less serious breaches of decorum. But as the tolls on the message had been pre-paid; he felt that he must send it somewhere, so he satisfied his own conscience and shifted responsibility by sending it to the head office of the Chinese Telegraph Administration in Shanghai for them to dispose of as they saw fit. The officials there were equally reluctant to disturb the august Manchu princes with such disrespectful news. So they delivered the telegram to us, thereby avoiding trouble for themselves and giving us the first news of the revolt which was to end the once great Manchu dynasty and turn the face of China forward.

It was with no prophetic vision that I seized on the brief telegram as conveying an important piece of news, but with the sole idea of filling one of those empty places which still gaped on the front page. But the dispatch was rather meager and in order to keep a big headline from looking topheavy it would be necessary to add something to it—a few paragraphs of text telling about the strength or personnel of the garrison which was involved. These were subjects on which I knew absolutely nothing so I went to Mr. Millard for help. He had lived in China for ten years and was an acknowledged authority on Far Eastern affairs.

"Don't call this incident a revolution," he instructed me as soon as he read the telegram. "It's just a local revolt. The Chinese have been rioting and revolting for the past hundred years and will keep on for the next hundred for that is their nature. But that doesn't mean that they have started a revolution or that there is a

revolutionary movement. They will talk about a revolution but that's as far as it will get. As for this affair, the Manchus will put it down in a day or two and a few heads will be chopped off and that is the last you will ever hear of it."

Then he gave me some kindly advice about the caution one should use in handling news affecting the fate of a dynasty which had endured for centuries and was built on such a solid foundation that it would continue for many more centuries, which was the opinion of practically all foreigners who lived in China. That killed my hopes for a good headline out of the Hankow story which was published in an obscure corner on the front page. I filled the blank space with a stupid story about a wordy but wholly unimportant speech the German kaiser had made on the subject of world peace.

More news about the revolt came to us every day, much of it in the form of rather excited telegrams to Shanghai business houses from their agents and correspondents in Hankow. The last real excitement in China had been occasioned by the Boxer uprising eleven years previously. This was fresh in the memory of most foreign residents, many of whom had experienced its horrors and it was not surprising that they thought history would repeat itself. The original Boxer movement had been directed against the Manchus but had been cleverly diverted against the foreigners, some of whom were killed in a barbarous manner. Many people thought that might happen again and boats leaving Shanghai for Hong Kong or ports in Japan were crowded with women and children.

But the revolt held to its original course. More troops deserted the Manchu banners and joined the rebels. Then news came in from an ever-widening circle of revolt which centered in Hankow. The rebels in that

area followed up their original success by capturing the local arsenal, the most important in China. It is hardly correct to say that they captured the arsenal for its defenders were in sympathy with the revolt and joined the rebels as soon as the movement started. South China and the lower Yangtze remained comparatively calm but there was plenty of trouble on the upper Yangtze. One of the most powerful of the Manchu viceroys was killed by the soldiers who constituted his own body-guard, his head chopped off, wrapped in a sack and sent to a neighboring viceroy with a taunting message. Garrisons of Manchus were being attacked in this part of the country and in most cases the attacks were made by the local revolting troops who vastly outnumbered the loyal forces. As had been the case in Hankow a great deal of territory changed hands with little or no fighting. Weeks after it started we learned that the revolt was premature. An accidental bomb explosion had frightened a German butcher who sent in a call for the police. The police uncovered a revolutionary plot and the rebels had to act quickly in order to save their own lives. Although the outbreak was premature, the timing coincided perfectly with Chinese ideas. They have always detested wars but have insisted that if they must be fought the appropriate time to start them is in the autumn, after the crops are harvested. Throughout Chinese history military leaders who started wars during the growing season have been looked on as inhuman monsters.

Mr. Millard had been so emphatic on the subject of the difference between a revolt and a revolution that I didn't venture to give these stories the prominence I wanted to, but after about a week they had become so important that I suggested:

"Don't you think we had better call this thing a revolution?"

"I suppose you might as well," he said.

He had changed his mind after a visit from W. H. (Bill) Donald, a young Australian newspaperman who later became famous as the personal adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. He was at this time the correspondent of the New York *Herald*, the only American newspaper that was represented in any way in China. Before coming to Shanghai he had worked in Hong Kong where he had learned about the anti-Manchu movement sponsored by hotheaded young rebels from Canton. After coming to Shanghai he had made friends with the local rebels and become their confidant and adviser. He was possibly the only foreigner in Shanghai who had the remotest idea of what the revolt in Hankow was all about. For several months he acted as the unofficial minister of foreign affairs to the rebels, and kept the British and American consuls general informed as to what was going on.

Then Mr. Millard added that he thought I had better get ready to go to Hankow by the next steamer and report the revolution at first hand. I could hardly sleep that night thinking of the gorgeous adventure ahead of me, for it is the dream of every youthful newspaperman to be a war correspondent. And to be a war correspondent in a country as mysterious and alluring as China offered the most vivid and colorful experience anyone could hope for. But the next night I couldn't sleep for quite a different reason. My body was completely covered with Ningpo varnish poisoning. It is impossible to explain to the uninitiated the acute discomfort that accompanies this affliction which is peculiar to the China coast. The best simile I can think

of is to say it is a good deal like being stung by a thousand especially vicious mosquitoes who come back and sting you again as soon as the fire from the last lot of stings begins to die out. I didn't see any reason why this should keep me from going to the seat of war and felt sure that by concentrating on it and working hard I could get myself cured during the four days' steamer journey to Hankow.

But Mr. Millard couldn't be budged. The dignity of the paper was at stake, and he couldn't afford to send a correspondent who might inadvertently scratch his legs when interviewing some powerful viceroy. I was not allowed to go to Hankow but I was relieved of most of my other duties and assigned to cover the revolution from Shanghai. It was just as well I did not go for in a few days the center of fighting had begun to move down the Yangtze.

The Manchus had been accustomed to issuing edicts which the recipient first read, then trembled and then hastened to obey. They sought to quell the revolt in the same way. Edicts were issued faster than the inadequate telegraph lines could transmit them but people who received them did not bother to tremble and did not obey. Yuan Shih-kai, a retired official who had had a brilliant record as an administrator and military leader, was ordered to return to duty and put down the revolt. Only a few years before this Yuan had incurred the jealousy of a powerful faction of the court and had been cashiered. The imperial edict which relieved him of duty had given as the reason that he was suffering from an injury which had lamed one leg. All China knew that this was a reference to the fact that Yuan had not been obsequious enough to please some of the haughty imperial princes. The retired statesman re-

ceived the imperial edict ordering him to return to duty, took his time about replying and then expressed regret that his old trouble with his leg was still bothering him. The Manchus lost no time in their reply, in an edict which gave Yuan powers insuring him against the interference of the most powerful of the princes. He said no more about his ailing leg but moved so deliberately that the revolution was virtually ended before he acted.

Dr. Wu Ting-fang, who had served for years as the Chinese Minister to Washington, was one of the directors of the *China Press* and I went to him for information about the revolution of which he first denied having any personal knowledge. But he did agree to help me interpret the confused mass of information that came pouring in to us from many sources. The Manchus were issuing edicts faster than our Chinese staff could translate them. The transmission of telegraph messages in the Chinese language is a very tedious and cumbersome proceeding. Since the Chinese language is not alphabetical, Chinese words cannot be transmitted in the Morse code. Instead, each of the thousands of ideographs is given a number. When a message is written in the Chinese language a clerk consults the numerical code and writes in the appropriate numbers for the characters. The numbers are then telegraphed. At the receiving end, the clerk decodes the numbers into the appropriate Chinese characters. In the office of the *China Press* we then had to have the message translated into English. Quite different from taking a piece of copy off the wire, writing a head on it and shooting it out to the linotype operator! It was maddening to see those pages filled with meaningless numbers pile into the office and have to wait for hours before we could get

the faintest inkling of what it was all about. We always went to press with many pages neither decoded nor translated.

It was arranged that I should call on Dr. Wu every afternoon when I usually had to listen to a lecture on diet and health before I could get him to talk about anything that would provide material for a story. It appears that while he was in Washington he had met a Congressional lady who was a health faddist and this became one of Dr. Wu's chief interests in life. The shelves of his library were lined with books about health and diet. He was a strict vegetarian and one of his hobbies was a vegetarian restaurant which he established in Shanghai. It was a remarkably good restaurant and his enthusiasm for the cause of vegetarianism made him a generous host. I had many good meals there. His ideas about diet gave him great face with the Chinese Buddhists who follow a strict vegetarian diet as a matter of religious belief. I am sure Dr. Wu was not a vegetarian because of religious principles. Unless I am very much mistaken he had as much scorn for the Buddhists as he had for Christians. When Minister at Washington he had shocked a great many pious Americans by referring to the converts of missionaries in China as "Rice Christians," that is, converts who had joined the church because the missionaries would not let a native Christian starve. There was just enough truth in this taunt to make it sting.

Before going into the diplomatic service for the Manchu government, Dr. Wu had practiced law in the British crown colony of Hong Kong where he had been naturalized as a British subject, which he was when he served as Chinese Minister at Washington. He was extremely touchy about this as I soon found out for when I asked him about it—not without a certain mischievous

malice—he blew up in a torrent of words. As British subjects enjoyed extraterritorial rights, Dr. Wu, while Chinese Minister at Washington was not actually subject to the sovereignty of the country which he represented. Under the treaty between China and Great Britain he could not be tried in the courts of China, was subject only to the laws of Great Britain, and could only be tried in a British court. Now that extraterritorial rights have been surrendered that situation appears, to say the least, to be very irregular, but there were thousands of Chinese who enjoyed a dual nationality and no one ever thought much about it.

Apparently the fact that he was a subject of Great Britain was known to some of the Chinese republican leaders and charges were made that he was being dictated to by the British in the political arrangements which were then being discussed by leading Chinese citizens of Shanghai. In order to clear himself of those charges he made use of me one day in what I suppose would be called a typically adroit method of Chinese subterfuge. My daily calls followed a regular routine. The boy would lead me to a small reception room just off the main hall where I would wait for Dr. Wu, who seldom kept me waiting more than a few minutes.

But one day I had just reached the entrance to the reception room when Dr. Wu burst on me from the hall with all the appearance of being in a furious temper.

"I told you," he shouted, "that I would see no one from the British consulate! I wrote to Sir John Jordon! If he writes me again I will return his letters unopened."

As I attempted to say something he shouted me down, switching his skirts in a very fine imitation of a Chinese gentleman in a furious rage. There was a lot more along

the same line—all very puzzling to me until I happened to glance at the open door of an adjoining room. It was full of strange Chinese, all of whom were listening to this tirade. It suddenly flashed through my mind that if Dr. Wu wanted to impress on these people his complete independence of the British Foreign Office, he could not have adopted a more convincing method, although a little unpleasant for me. So I said nothing and got out as gracefully as possible.

The next day Dr. Wu was more than usually friendly and was no longer merely an interpreter of the news I had gathered. He told me that he was a member of the republican party and that he was to be the head of the republican delegation which would meet representatives of the Manchus to negotiate a treaty of peace which would without doubt mean the abdication of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the republican form of government. This news was so startling that I forgot to mention the strange incident of the previous day and neither of us referred to it.

It may have been because I had inadvertently shown such good Chinese manners by ignoring an unpleasant incident that Dr. Wu introduced me, a few days later, to Tang Shao-yi,² the head of the Manchu delegation, who rather reluctantly agreed that I should call on them daily and get a firsthand account of the progress of the conference. Tang Shao-yi, like Wu Ting-fang, was a southerner, a Cantonese, but he had long been a distinguished servitor of the Manchu court and was presumed to be steeped in Manchu traditions. One of them was a great distrust of newspapers and news-

² I enjoyed the friendship of Tang Shao-yi and his family for more than twenty years. When the American Club of Shanghai decided to liberalize its membership I had the honor of proposing him for membership. He was the first Chinese to be elected a member of a foreign club in Shanghai.

papermen. It was almost a week before I won his confidence. At first my daily calls were rather formal affairs. I would be kept waiting in the reception room until the two Chinese statesmen made up their minds as to what they wanted to tell me. Then as they learned that I could not speak or understand a word of Chinese they began inviting me into the conference itself and I listened to long discussions and arguments without understanding a word that was said. I never knew why they allowed me in the conference room except to provide an audience for the wisecracks they took at each other in English.

As a republican sympathizer, Dr. Wu had cut his small gray pigtail but Mr. Tang, as a delegate of the imperial Manchu family, still wore his. The difference in headdress led to many jibes but the most acrimonious arguments were about cigarettes which Dr. Wu contemptuously referred to as "coffin nails," an expression which he had picked up in America. Mr. Tang smoked a great many cigarettes and I never came into the room that he did not offer me one, primarily for the purpose of annoying Dr. Wu, who would retaliate by calling a boy and ordering a window opened.

"You are just a wicked old man," said Mr. Tang one day to Dr. Wu, for my benefit. "You are afraid to die and that's the reason you buy all those health books and worry about your diet. I eat what I like—food that you would like to eat if you weren't afraid to die. I drink wine and I smoke cigarettes. But my conscience is clear and I will live to see you buried."³

If Tang Shao-*yi* really intended to preserve the Manchu dynasty he was soon convinced of the futility of his

³ This was only Chinese persiflage and I had forgotten all about it until I read that the venerable Tang Shao-*yi* was assassinated a few months ago because he was suspected of aiding the Japanese. Dr. Wu died many years ago.

task. He probably knew that when he came to Shanghai, for as a former premier of the country he knew more than the republicans knew about the weakness of the regime and the petty, selfish quarrels which separated the imperial court into groups of warring camps.

At the conclusion of a series of conferences a memo was drawn up in English and Chinese setting forth the agreement which had been arrived at and initialed by them. The two Chinese diplomats gave the English memo to me as a souvenir.* It reads as follows:

"Dr. Wu Ting-fang advocated the necessity of establishing a republican form of government for China. He believed that China is fully prepared to welcome the new republic. He said in substance as follows:

The people of China will accept no other form of government than a republic founded on the will of the people. Since we can appoint delegates to represent us both in the various provincial assemblies and in the National Assembly at Peking, why are we not qualified to elect a president as the Chief Executive of the nation?

The Manchus have shown their utter inability to govern the people for 267 years. They must go out. A government may be well-likened to a trading company. If the manager, through incapacity or dishonesty, causes the failure of the concern, he has no business to continue in office; a new manager must be elected by the shareholders. The Republican Party does not intend to drive the Manchus out nor to ill-treat them. On the contrary, they want to place them on a perfect equality with the Chinese, enjoying together the blessings of liberty, equality and fraternity.

* Several years ago I gave this memo, together with several other documents connected with this period of Chinese history to the Museum of the School of Journalism, University of Missouri.

His Excellency Tang Shao-yi expressed his readiness to accept Dr. Wu's views, but as the matter is one of the greatest importance he has to communicate with Peking."

This memo was dated December 24, 1911, and marked the final collapse of the Manchus, though it was several months before Mr. Tang could convince them that any further resistance was futile and bring about the abdication without any further fighting.

The period when China was not a live field for news ended. The Chinese were no longer political guinea pigs.

Chapter II

THE CUTTING OF THE QUEUES

IN THE mass of confused reports that reached Shanghai from the rapidly shifting battlefronts the most significant was concerned with the activities of barbers rather than soldiers. The news was that the republicans were cutting their queues. To those who were unfamiliar with the origin of the queue, as was the case with American editors, this was just another queer story coming from that queer country of China. To those who knew China, the cutting of the queues provided unmistakable evidence that the movement was revolutionary and that the republicans had pledged themselves to a course from which they could not retreat. For a Chinese willingly to part with his queue was almost as unthinkable as that he would willingly have an ear sliced off or submit to any other humiliating disfigurement. The only difference between slicing off an ear and cutting off a queue was that one operation was painful and the other was not. To be without an ear or to be without a queue were equally shameful. Ridiculous as it was to others, the Chinese treasured this absurd pigtail as an unmistakable badge of nationality, something which set them apart from all other men. It had been forced on them by the Manchu conquerors as a symbol of servitude but with centuries of usage the significance of the style of hairdress had been forgotten and it was now an honored convention of which they were inordinately proud.

Many silly and superstitious beliefs had grown up

about the queue, but the fact that they were silly did not in any way lessen their strength. With their tolerance for the strange ways of other people, Chinese accepted the fact that Americans and Europeans should cut their hair, but it was unthinkable that a Chinese should do so. Many Chinese statesmen, such as Dr. Wu Ting-fang, spent years abroad where the queue was doubtless an embarrassment to them, but they dared not part with it if they ever expected to return to China. There the lowest beggar would jeer at a man with clipped hair. So fixed was the convention, and so important, especially in the interior, that a great many Jesuit missionaries grew queues and a few Protestant missionaries stationed in the interior wore false queues made by barbers, which they could detach when home on sabbatical leave. Jesuits and members of other Catholic orders who were assigned to duty in China never went home, and their queues were as permanent as their vows. Both Protestants and Catholics agreed that if Paul had been in China, he would have worn a queue, the only difference of opinion being as to whether he would have grown one of his own or bought one at a shop.

The Hankow rebels were embarrassed because the badges which had been promised them had not been provided and as a temporary measure they tied white bands around their arms. The arm bands, however, were soon discarded and replaced by a more permanent insignia of rebellion for the revolting soldiers cut their queues. As recruits were added their queues were cut whether they liked it or not. Badges or white arm bands could be thrown away if the republican cause did not prosper, but once the glossy black queue was cut there could be no concealment. The queueless man was definitely and permanently committed as a revolutionist

and would be killed on sight if he should be unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of the imperial troops. Once a man joined the revolutionists no matter what the reason, the change was irrevocable and he knew that he was fighting not only for a cause but also for his own life, which would be forfeit if the republican movement should fail.

It was the first civil war ever fought in which one of the combatants was faced by no temptation to change sides; was indeed as definitely and unalterably separated from his fellow countrymen who were his opponents as if he had been a man of a different race, with a different color of skin. How important this cutting of queues was in keeping up the morale of the revolutionists, it would be difficult to say. There were, at any rate, no defections from the republican side. Their ranks grew and never diminished.

The progress of the revolution was marked by the cutting of queues, which first disappeared by the hundreds in Hankow; then by the millions in all parts of the country except the extreme north. The movement struck Shanghai late in October and along with other foreigners I watched the disappearance of the old traditional headdress with a mixture of surprise and amusement. The members of the Chinese staff of the *China Press* were among the first to adopt the new style, though the promoters of the movement had a rather difficult time talking the more conservative ones into it. It was not until after several days of earnest and often embittered controversy that all the members of the staff fell in line. They then met in the office one Sunday morning and after making sure that everyone was present, locked the door, called in a barber, and allowed no one to leave until his queue was added to the pile on the floor. Purely by coincidence the printers took the

same action at the same time so that on Monday morning we were confronted by Chinese fellow workers of strangely altered appearance, their stiff unruly locks sticking out in every direction and looking like carelessly barbered hedgehogs. Comical as their appearance was, one could not overlook the fact that for each of them the cutting of the queues represented a new and entirely unexampled act of bravery, a renunciation of old traditions that must have caused a great deal of anxiety.

A few days later, most of the Chinese office employees in Shanghai were queueless. Parting with the queue was not always voluntary, for "tail-cutting" became a favorite prank among the younger men. A young Chinese friend justified this as a patriotic act. Once a queue was cut the shorn one was irrevocably committed to the republican cause. Besides, he said, most of the Chinese wanted to lose their queues but some for one reason or another didn't have the courage to go to a barber and get the thing done. They got a little angry, he admitted, when forcibly parted from their queues, but the next day they were very happy about it. Chefoo, my houseboy, was faced by a problem which was duplicated in millions of homes. He wanted to cut his queue though it was very fine and long and he had been very proud of it. But his mother denounced this as a piece of dangerous foolishness, a foreign fad which would soon be forgotten and sternly forbade him. She had, as a girl, heard much of the great Taiping Rebellion which had ravaged the most prosperous part of China for a decade and threatened the Manchu throne only to be put down eventually with ruthless slaughter. Like most other old Chinese women she looked on Manchu rule as something as endless and inevitable as the seasons. Chefoo was more than forty years old, and had

half-grown children of his own, but he did not dare defy his mother on whom all parental authority rested, for his father was dead.

His distress increased day by day as other servants in the neighborhood parted with their queues and I did not add to his happiness by telling him about the queueless men in the office. He became more and more fearful of going to market where the queueless ones jeered at him and sometimes threatened to chop off his queue with a butcher knife. Life became very difficult for him and his usually cheerful countenance became one of unrelieved gloom. It is impossible for any foreigner to fully appreciate his position because no adult foreigner is ever held under such severe parental discipline. One morning when he brought me my cup of tea he was queueless but very sad. He had, for the first time in his life, defied the wishes of his mother, and that on a matter which she considered to be of the most supreme importance. Millions of sons in all parts of China were doing the same thing and in its wider implications, this cutting off of queues was of more importance and significance than the announcements and manifestos with which the republican leaders began to flood the country.

Every day new towns or whole provinces went over to the party whose members were now being known as republicans, this more dignified name replacing the earlier term of "rebel" which the revolutionists had at first been content to call themselves. The editor of the London *Times* examined his collection of metaphors for one which would fit the situation and wrote: "The Chinese Empire is seething like a caldron." But his carefully chosen phrase was not exactly correct for events moved faster than the machinery for recording them. By the time the metaphor had been selected all

that was unqualifiedly left of the empire as a political unit was the Forbidden City in Peking where the Manchu princes were huddled in fear, blaming each other for the outbreak and issuing a new conciliatory mandate every time they thought of something that might possibly please the dreaded revolutionists. The Manchu princes did not wait to see the effect of one appeal before they poured forth another, combining humiliating admissions of guilt with groveling promises of reform. On October 20, all other appeals having failed to produce any effect, the princes issued a mandate in the name of Pu Yi, the emperor, who was then six years old, and is now the puppet emperor of Manchukuo. The mandate recounted the many serious dangers which threatened the throne and then went on:

All these things are my own fault. Hereby I announce to the world that I swear to reform and with our soldiers and people to carry out the constitution faithfully, modifying legislation, developing the interests of the people and abolishing their hardships. . . . The soldiers and the people are innocent. If they return to their allegiance I will excuse the past. . . . I only hope my subjects will thoroughly understand.

The floods of the Yangtze which had devastated this part of China a few months earlier had left thousands homeless and starving and the Manchu rulers had done nothing for their relief; had probably not thought about the matter. The officials I had talked to in Hankow had been exceedingly bored by the flood. Compassion and sympathy for the hardships of the people, even in the frugally symbolic form of stingy contributions to the flood and famine sufferers, comprised no part of the political stock in trade of the Manchus. But with a grow-

ing number of provinces throwing off allegiance to the throne, the empress dowager¹ hurriedly made a belated contribution to flood relief and then, as the republican movement continued to grow, announced a second and larger gift. Only the day before the revolution started the wicked, wasp-faced viceroy who governed Hankow had been honored by an imperial mandate which praised him for his wise and efficient administration. A new mandate now cashiered him in disgrace and made clumsy attempts to turn republican resentment against him as the real cause of the trouble. He was only one of many loyal and faithful servants of the Manchus who were thrown to the advancing wolf pack. The Manchus were now ready to promise anything, to sacrifice anything but themselves, if they could only stop the revolution. All of these mandates, promises, and shameless admissions of guilt had no more effect on public opinion than so many shovelfuls of dirt would have in stopping the Yangtze flood. The Manchu dynasty was ended and everyone realized it except the Manchus themselves.

It fits neatly with conventional political ideas to assume that the Chinese, growing tired of alien rule, organized and threw it off by means of a well-planned campaign. The rapidity with which the revolution spread appeared to indicate the results of careful and successful planning and the new republican leaders who in a few months, sprang from obscurity to national fame, were possibly given a great deal more credit than they deserved. The rapid spread of the movement was not due to any well-laid plans so much as the long pent-up hatred for the Manchus, hatred so intense that it needed no encouragement aside from that supplied by the purse-proud arrogance of the Manchus themselves. The

¹ Not to be confused with the earlier empress dowager who ruled China during the Boxer period. She had died several years before this.

revolutionary organization was very sketchy and trivial compared with the size of the task and the results eventually accomplished.

Certainly the revolt in Hankow had not been according to plan. A little band of revolutionists, headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, had for years braved death by promoting the revolution, working especially among Chinese living abroad, and young Chinese sent to Japan for military training. The military students were taught revolutionary ideas in the hope that eventually, under their leadership, the entire army would rise and throw off Manchu rule. It was not to be a revolution of the people, as it later developed, but an army coup not unlike those which have frequently changed governments in Latin America. Of the many curious things connected with the beginning of the revolution not the least extraordinary was the fact that while hundreds, if not thousands, of military officers were ready to assume their posts in the revolutionary army when called upon to do so, Li Yuan-hung, who became the military and political leader of the revolution, does not appear to have been numbered among them. This was typical of the haphazard and obviously uncharted course of the revolution.

Neither during the brief period of fighting between revolutionaries and imperialists nor in the years of chaos that followed was there much evidence of constructive organization. Hankow was, as a matter of fact, about the worst possible starting place for the attack against the Manchus because direct rail communication with Peking made it possible to throw huge forces of imperial troops into the area in a short time, while its location as a port on the Yangtze made it possible for the Chinese navy to join forces with the imperial army. A revolution started any other point south of the Yangtze would have gained tremendous headway before any effective Man-

chu troops could have been sent to the scene of the trouble. As matters turned out, the imperial troops were in Hankow within ten days and a Chinese battleship came, fired a few guns as a gesture of loyalty, and then remained silent. One explanation for this action on the part of the navy was that the gunboat officers were secretly in sympathy with the revolutionists and another was that they were out of ammunition because funds for the support of the navy had been pilfered by the Manchu princes. Either explanation was plausible and both may be correct. At different points there were revealed many evidences of corruption in the purchase and supply of ammunition. Wooden shells were plentiful among the stores of the imperial army and for years foreigners living in China carried about with them, as curious souvenirs of the revolution, clever imitations of machine-gun bullets made of harmless papier-mâché. It appears unnecessary to remark that this fake ammunition had been made in Japan.

In spite of the statements made by the republican leaders, the Chinese, as a whole, were not fighting for a cause in any constructive sense, but rather blindly against the Manchus and the hatred of most of them was centered against that peculiar institution known as the "Manchu Garrison." It had come into existence with the Manchu conquest of the country. When the Manchus, then a band of hardy northern warriors, conquered China, the victorious princes of the imperial family set up in all important cities, and especially in the provincial capitals, garrisons on whose loyalty they could rely because they were composed entirely of Manchu warriors. It was a military occupation by alien conquerors and like many military occupations both before and since, no attempt was made to mitigate or conceal its unpleasantness. As professional fighting men

and members of the ruling clan, the Manchu men attached to these garrisons did not toil in the fields nor did their women spin and weave; for they were fed with "tribute rice" from the imperial treasury which took toll from every rice field in the land. Chinese living about the garrison might be dying from starvation but the Manchu rice bowls were always well filled. For almost three hundred years these alien garrisons were dotted all over China, being constantly replenished by the birth of Manchu sons. The lazy Manchu women were never so fertile as the Chinese but they were prolific enough to provide plenty of sons whom the Chinese looked on as useless parasites who ate plentifully but produced nothing.

In a few places, such as the important provincial capitals in the north, the Manchu garrisons maintained a surprising degree of efficiency but, in most of them, they became merely useless pensioners, content to live on the tribute rice with nothing more than a shabby pretense of keeping up any kind of military training or discipline. The Manchu princes themselves fully realized the worthlessness of those garrisons and for decades had not provided them with any new arms. In many places they had nothing but ancient muzzle-loaders. But the monthly contributions of tribute rice never failed. The Chinese student leaders who came to the front, especially those who had studied in America, were full of talk about representative government and rights and liberties; but the Chinese farmer whose crop had failed after a season of hard work needed none of these patriotic phrases to fire his hatred of the alien rulers. All he had to do was look at the fat Manchu who slept in the sun all afternoon while he plowed the fields, sowed the seeds and grew the food the Manchu pensioner ate.

While the generally accepted explanation for the presence of these Manchu settlements is as given above, histories recently written by Chinese give an entirely different version. They say that the establishment of the Manchu garrisons and the liberal allowance of rice which was given them was at the suggestion of a wise and patriotic Chinese statesman who foresaw that the most certain method of sapping the strength of the conquerors was to allow them to live in luxury and idleness. If this was the suggestion of a Chinese statesman he was following a very sound historical precedent, for it was by this means that, in Confucian days, the ancient state of Yueh weakened the rival state of Wu and then annihilated its army.

The system of pension had the inevitable result. While the Manchu garrisons soon lost all effectiveness as a fighting force the Manchu population with each generation sank to lower depths of incompetence and inertia. Many outside the privileged garrison class became ricksha coolies or worked as servants in the homes of prosperous Chinese. Few of them knew a trade of any sort. One of the most curious things about the revolution was the fact that this hatred of the Manchus as a class did not extend to individuals and did not result in the massacre of the Manchus living in these comparatively isolated settlements, where they were in all cases vastly outnumbered by their Chinese neighbors. There was one case in the northeast where the local Manchus were wiped out, but in other places only a few were killed, no more than might reasonably be expected to be numbered among the casualties in a civil commotion which extended over a wide area. On the other hand, in several places, public funds were appropriated for the relief of the needy Manchus whose pensions had been cut off as a result of the revolution.

For centuries soldiering in China had been a despised occupation. Though sons of good families went to military schools in Japan, no one joined the army as a private soldier who could make a living in any other way. A very large proportion of the soldiers had either been impressed individually or taken into the army en masse as bandit gangs were defeated. In fact, the terms soldier and bandit were well-nigh synonymous. A Chinese of the better class would as soon go to prison as join the army. But as the fighting continued there were thousands who voluntarily joined the republican forces and made partially successful attempts to learn how to handle a rifle. Recruiting was easy in the Hankow area for the floods had created thousands of hungry refugees to whom the camp kitchens of the army beckoned alluringly. But this need for food did not exist in prosperous Shanghai and here sons of well-to-do families presented themselves at the recruiting stations faster than they could be enrolled and equipped.

Patriotism of a sort the Chinese have always had but it was a love of the country of past centuries, of its ancient art and literature and colorful history, and had little to do with the flesh and blood of everyday affairs. It was akin to the love of the Elizabethan England of Shakespeare which is a very potent force in the lives and thoughts of thousands of people who have never set foot on English soil. It found its most common expression among public-spirited Chinese in the writing of poems and essays. The ultimate act of patriotism in China was to write an essay or a memorial to the throne, recounting the ills under which the country suffered and then commit suicide. Through their battles with the imperial troops the republicans suddenly became heroes. They appeared in the people's minds to be reincarnations of the fabled heroes of ancient history and a

new kind of patriotism stirred the youth of China, a patriotism which might find its expression in the stirring events of the day rather than in the tedious historical romances with which the Chinese theater was filled. It was in a way a new emotion and it was not surprising that it found expression in strange and bizarre ways. The first of the Shanghai volunteers for service with the republican army called themselves the "Death and Glory Boys." A second lot, not to be outdone, proudly mustered under a banner inscribed "Dare To Dies." It remained for a third band to reach the topmost pinnacle of superlatives and call themselves "Determined To Dies." And many of them did die, fighting heroically on the battlefield, many other more ingloriously executed by imperial troops because they wandered inside the lines and were found to have cut their queues.

The wave of patriotism in Shanghai spread to the women. The widow of a republican soldier who had been killed in the first days of fighting demanded the right to fight the Manchus to avenge the death of her husband and other women joined her. A few of them were widows of soldiers, or sisters of soldiers, who had been killed; but most of them had no incentive of personal vengeance. They were just patriotic. This did not fit in with the ideas of the Chinese men though there were good precedents for it, as Chinese history is full of stories of women who fought bravely for one cause or another. In the end one hundred and twenty Shanghai women, some with ridiculously bound feet, volunteered for the army and about half of them were accepted and mastered the manual of arms, and rifles were issued to them. They formed a colorful band of Amazons for they wore scarlet trousers of their own designing. Except for the example they set and the spirit they inspired they

did not play an important part in the revolution; but scattered through the lower Yangtze Valley there are a number of monuments erected in honor of Chinese women who lost their lives because of their loyalty to the revolutionary cause.

By the end of December the affairs of the revolution had proceeded so swiftly and so successfully that Dr. Wu Ting-fang, who was acting as director of foreign affairs for the republicans, issued through the press an appeal for world recognition of the accomplishments of the revolutionists. This appeal was not his idea but he was cajoled into it by Charles Herbert Webb, of the editorial staff of the *China Press*, who was correspondent for the Hearst papers and he got very handsomely paid for sending them Dr. Wu's appeal which concluded:

"The most glorious page in Chinese history has been written with a bloodless pen."

While this statement was not literally true, as a figure of speech it was not inappropriate nor overdrawn. Considering the number of people affected and the vast issues at stake there had been a surprisingly small loss of life. According to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the leader who had been promoting the revolution for two decades, there would have been even less bloodshed had the revolution not been precipitated by the bomb explosion which frightened the German butcher. According to his plans, the whole Chinese army was to be permeated with revolutionary ideas and would, at a given signal, become republican soldiers and there would have been no fighting because there would have been no foes.

The Manchus did not fight the issue to a conclusion. The imperial troops had regained possession of Hankow, burned the Chinese city, slaughtered thousands

of civilians in what appeared to have been a frenzy of blood lust. They might easily have gone on and driven out the republican troops but did not do so. The fighting shifted to Nanking where the imperial forces were commanded by Chang Hsun, a colorful old Manchu retainer who had once been a very successful bandit. Establishing himself in Nanking he ordered the decapitation of every queueless person, soldier or civilian, who was caught near his lines. While he shouted defiance at the republicans a big battle appeared to be brewing for Cantonese soldiers were arriving by steamer from the south and other republican troops were converging on Nanking from various points in the Yangtze Valley. Then, without warning, the imperialists slipped out under cover of darkness and the republicans woke up one cold December morning to find that the Manchu garrison had crossed the Yangtze and were encamped safely on the other side. I had arrived in Nanking to report what we thought would be the decisive battle of the war, but there was no battle.² The republicans could not cross the Yangtze because the imperialists had taken with them every available means of transportation. There wasn't even a donkey left in Nanking.

When Chang Hsun retreated from Nanking I missed seeing a battle but I did witness the arrival of several regiments of Cantonese troops who had come north to help in the campaign against the Manchus, arriving too late to be of any service. They were a sorry-looking lot of soldiers. Their heads were covered with cotton turbans and their thin cotton uniforms provided little

² We had a volunteer correspondent in Nanking and when a message came from him saying that the streets of the city were a foot deep in blood, it appeared that something unusual was happening. So I was sent up on the next train. I didn't find bloody streets, only a correspondent who had mixed gin with Chinese brandy.

protection from the damp cold of a Nanking winter day. They were armed with muzzle-loading rifles like the squirrel rifles of our pioneer ancestors. Almost every soldier carried a powder flask tied to his belt, a few bars of lead and a bullet mold which fitted the caliber of the gun which he carried, for they were not all alike. In each squad there was a noncombatant, usually a small boy, who carried a brazier and a bundle of charcoal. It was his job to follow the soldiers on the field of battle and mold bullets for them as they were needed. Many of the soldiers carried umbrellas.

Plans were being made to follow Chang Hsun across the Yangtze and, in spite of their antiquated weapons, the Cantonese troops provided a welcome addition to the Yangtze Valley soldiers who were already in Nanking, but they were inarticulate. The other troops did not understand the sing song, many-toned Cantonese dialect and the newcomers spoke nothing else. It was a purely Chinese Tower of Babel. Of course, since the Chinese written language is uniform, they could have written messages to each other. But written memorandums do not fit the tempo of a war conference where problems must be discussed and decisions made with no loss of time.

While commanders of different regiments were clumsily trying to talk to each other, Roy Anderson, a young American, arrived in Nanking to act as interpreter for W. H. (Bill) Donald, and became the official interpreter for the entire republican army. Roy had been born in Soochow, where his father was an American missionary. Like most other American children born in China he had learned to speak Chinese before English. He made a hobby of the language, picked up other dialects easily and was one of the few men in all of China who could

speak seven or eight dialects with equal fluency. Chinese not only admired him for his great knowledge of their language but respected him for his complete honesty and disinterestedness. For twenty years after that Roy was the trusted go-between of war lords and arranged dozens of treaties of peace between them.

Chapter III

THE ERA OF THE WAR LORDS

THE end of Manchu rule brought equally glittering opportunities to unselfish patriots with plans to build a new and better China and to selfish men who wanted to gain power for themselves and their families. Out of the struggles of these men developed the era of the war lords with the selfish seekers after personal power usually dominating the stage. The war lords maneuvered armies, bribed enemies, betrayed friends, broke promises, looted cities, robbed the people, set up governments and occasionally did a little fighting. History was repeating itself in a normal way. The fall of every dynasty in the long history of China had been followed by a generation or more of civil war in which one man eventually emerged victorious, mounted the dragon throne and founded a new dynasty. A vacant throne, whether in China or any other country, usually provides a strong incentive for civil war. While Sun Yat-sen and other patriots said that the monarchy had been ended, thousands of other people believed that all that had happened was that a dynasty had been deposed, that it might be restored or a new one set up.

The republicans may have thought that there was some magic in their new political program that would make possible a peaceful transition from the old to new. To them this latest revolt was more than a revolt against a dynasty; it was a revolt against the dynastic system, designed to end all dynasties and to set up a government

by the people. To an idealist like Sun Yat-sen the blessings of representative government were so apparent that everyone should accept the change gladly and work together for the common good. There was no doubt but that a great many patriots thought a miracle had been performed and were carried away by an emotional enthusiasm akin to that of a convert to a new religion. I attended the first republican convention held in Shanghai where several hundred ardent supporters of Sun Yat-sen listened to speeches in an atmosphere similar to that of an old-fashioned Methodist revival meeting. Everyone painted a rosy picture of the future. There did not appear to be a cloud in the sky. With their freedom gained, the delegates to the convention felt that they could accomplish anything. One young man made a fiery speech, in which he spoke understandingly of Washington,¹ Lincoln and Jefferson. At the conclusion of his impassioned speech the young man picked up a knife, chopped off the end of his little finger and wrote on the whitewashed wall the Chinese characters for "republic"² in his own blood. If the whole country had been made up of men like this orator something like the harmony which Sun Yat-sen hoped for might have been attained. Not necessarily. This convention had been a very confused affair with no one present knowing how to conduct a public meeting in

¹ One of the earliest business activities that followed the revolution was the building of hotels in what the Chinese believed to be the foreign style. Quite a number of these hotels were named after Washington. It happens that pronunciation of the word Washington can be accurately expressed in Chinese characters. Lee is another American family name for which there is an appropriate phonetic character.

² The Chinese term for republic is composed of three characters meaning "people-as-host-country." Like many other political terms this one was invented by Sun Yat-sen. The Chinese language did not contain any word for republic just as it did not contain any word for electric light, motorcar, radio or any other modern gadgets from the West.

orderly fashion. Some of those who applauded the idea of a republic with the greatest enthusiasm knew absolutely nothing about how a representative form of government could be made to work.

Actually there were very few republicans, and many of those who adopted that party label did so with a vague idea of what it meant. Millions of Chinese knew no more about republicanism than the average American knows about the ethics of Confucius. The greatest group of enlightened republicans was to be found in the neighborhood of Canton. Secret political societies had existed there for more than a century and while they were mainly antdynastic, some of them supported ideas of self-government. More foreign books were read here, more foreign ideas adopted than in any other part of the country except the International Settlement of Shanghai. All of the Chinese who had emigrated to the United States had come from the Canton area. Quite a number returned to their native villages to die; those who did not return sent money and wrote letters. Thousands of Chinese living in this area had a mental picture of republican America as a place of peace and prosperity, a country which China might well emulate. Canton had also been the place where Protestant Christian missionary work had been initiated, the first converts made, the first schools established. Sun Yat-sen's father was one of the early converts.

North of the Yangtze River and in the west, there was deep-seated conservatism, a prejudice against anything new and anything foreign. Republicanism was both. Here, some who welcomed the downfall of the Manchus thought another dynasty should be established. This idea found some supporters in Shanghai. A campaign was actually started to restore the Ming dynasty, a movement which soon collapsed because no pretender to the

Ming throne could be found. This offers striking evidence of the democratic character of the Chinese people which is always at work to wipe out class distinction. With their many concubines, and dozens of sons, the Ming emperors must have left thousands of descendants but they had all lost their royal identities, had become indistinguishable from any others in the millions of black-haired people who constitute the Chinese race.

A few years later there was another attempt to restore the monarchial form of government. Yuan Shih-kai who succeeded Sun Yat-sen as president of China, had ruled the country like an emperor, but at first without the trappings. These he began to add. Gossip leaked out of Peking that he had discarded the severe military uniform in which he had always appeared and was wearing robes of silk brocade. Next he offered sacrifices at the altar of the Temple of Heaven, a ceremony which had never before been performed by anyone but the emperor. Everyone knew what was coming next, wondered whether or not he would be successful in an attempt to seat himself on the vacant throne. According to all the old rules of the game he should have been. On his abdication the emperor Pu Yi had entrusted the government of the country to Yuan. The throne was empty, the imperial regalia gathering the dust of idleness. Yuan was the one outstanding strong man in China, strong in character and personal abilities and strong in the possession of the only well-trained army in the country. We foreigners, and a great many of our Chinese friends, thought he would make a pretty good emperor, certainly better than any who had ruled the country for the preceding hundred years.

Finally Yuan decided that the time was ripe for the great step. He coerced a powerless parliament into pass-

ing a resolution urging him to take the throne. The Manchu clansmen did the same thing. Having done all this he might with some justification claim to have received the three mandates to rule which every emperor was supposed to possess. These mandates were from heaven, the people and his predecessor. He made all the preparations to enthrone himself. Immediately there was an outcry from one end of China to another.³ Yuan had been accepted with fairly good grace as a military dictator, but the people would have none of him as an emperor. Though the changes brought on by the revolution had been negligible, there was a general feeling that the end of the old regime had marked a distinct gain for the people and they did not want to return to anything resembling it. The would-be emperor was driven from power and simplified the complex political problem of China by dying at a most opportune time. The Encyclopaedia Britannica says he died, "prostrated by chagrin and rage."

A second attempt to put an occupant on the vacant throne came a few years later. Chang Hsun, the former bandit, and an illiterate, who had risen to great power through his service to the Manchus, never surrendered to the republican ideas. He was the man who retreated from Nanking, taking the city's transportation system with him. He was loyal to his convictions as the Confederate veterans who never took off their gray uniforms and proudly wore them until they died. Chang Hsun kept his small personal army intact and for several years after the Manchu abdication cut off the head

³ Not all the Chinese protested. Many had grown tired of republican failures and welcomed the change. A scholarly friend of mine, referring to the failure in the attempt to introduce a new form of government said, "Only a fool would cut the feet to fit the shoes." Most foreigners assumed that this was the end of republicanism in China. I was one of them.

of every queueless Chinese who was careless enough to wander into his territory.⁴

Having been called to Peking to settle a difference between rival groups of war lords, Chang who had only been a backwoods war lord, suddenly and unexpectedly found himself holding the balance of power. He at once, on his own authority, decreed the restoration of the Manchu dynasty; actually placed the timid little Pu Yi, then about ten years old, on the throne. Again there was a roar of protest, even louder than before. Chang Hsun fled, just ten days after his arrival in Peking. The young ex-emperor who had not been a party to the plot returned to his seclusion in the Forbidden City, not to be heard from again until the Japanese made him the puppet emperor of Manchukuo. There was a persistent story that this plot had been engineered by Kaiser Wilhelm who at that time was trying to make Germany a Far Eastern power.

The men who engineered the revolution had undoubtedly failed in their attempt to set up a republican form of government, but it became increasingly evident that there would be no return to a monarchy. Even with the country in a chaotic condition, the Chinese did enjoy many new freedoms. One was freedom to express opinions on political matters. That had been a dangerous procedure under the Manchus. There was a well-known Chinese proverb. "He who does not work under the government does not meddle with affairs of the

⁴ In one of Chang's battles with republican troops a couple of Japanese were killed. They were probably spies who got into the lines of fire. At any rate the Japanese government raised unshirted hell about it, demanding that Chang, at the head of his garrison of eight hundred soldiers, call on the Japanese consul at Nanking and tender a formal apology. The Peking government insisted and Chang finally agreed. The Japanese made quite a gala occasion of the apology, inviting many guests. Chang, after apologizing to the Japanese made a farce of the whole thing by calling on every consul in Nanking and apologizing to them also. The Japanese were furious.

government." Chinese mothers for generations had taught their sons that there was danger in having any political convictions.

With the death of Yuan Shih-kai a dozen or more men aspired to take his place as dictator of the country, and the real era of the war lords began. So far as I know, no one ever attempted to compile a chronicle of this period of Chinese history. It would be a confusing and tedious record and of little conceivable value. The shifts and changes in power, from one war lord to another, were so rapid, so difficult to follow, so hard to understand that we foreigners paid no more attention to them than we had to. All we hoped for was that they would do their fighting as far away from us as possible and not dig trenches and machine-gun nests on our golf courses as one of them did.⁵ When there was fighting around Shanghai many of us would cancel our week-end golf dates and go out to watch the battle. Foreigners living in Tientsin and Peking did the same thing. The good-natured Chinese soldiers always respected our position as neutrals and refrained from firing in our direction. On one occasion the troops occupying a village near Siccawei, a suburb of Shanghai, retreated and the victorious troops began burning the village. Two Americans, who were members of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, went into the abandoned village to unleash the goats tethered in the houses. The victorious troops waited until the Americans were through with their efforts of mercy before they marched into the village. Then they did a very complete job of pillaging and burning. The armies commanded by the war lords

⁵ The sequel to this may give some idea of the *opera bouffe* nature of the war lords' battles. A club committee protested vigorously to the commander in charge of the area. He apologized when they pointed out the enormity of his offense, repaired the damage as best he could, and moved his troops away from the golf course.

were very small, considering the nuisance they made of themselves. Chang Tsao-lin, the ruler of Manchuria, had the largest army, but it probably never numbered more than a hundred thousand men. Colorful old Chang Hsun never had more than about twenty thousand men. As the war lords had to pay and feed the soldiers there was a sound incentive to keep their numbers small.

Most of us put all the war lords in the same category —assumed that the sole object of each was to collect taxes and accumulate a private fortune. One could hear stories around any club bar about the vast sums being deposited in certain foreign banks or remitted to New York.⁶ Some of these stories were undoubtedly true, but it was wrong to deny to all the war lords any unpatriotic motives. Tough old Chang Hsun had been a bandit who ruled an area on the Tientsin-Pukow railway with

⁶ The Manchus had been especially adept at the invention of new taxes but the war lords excelled them. They kept all the old taxes and added new ones. A British resident of Shanghai compiled the following taxes which were levied in different parts of China:

Sugar	Bean cake	Flour
Kerosene oil	Joss paper	Live pig import
Wine and tobacco	Timber	Pig hongs
Fresh fish	Earthenware	Firecracker
Brick and tile	Large pig	Narcissus bulb
Small pig	Potato refuse	Rice
Pork	Fruit tree	Road cleaning
Hot water	Flower seed	Prostitution
Advertising	Fowl and duck	Boats
Actors	Sedan chair	Wine
Jetty	Charcoal	Paper
Lime	Public road	Sand
Navigation	Shop	Slaughtering
Cotton yarn	Bamboo	Green wood

The list looks much more formidable than it actually was. In the first place no war lord was ever able to collect taxes over any but a very small area. In the second place the Chinese were skillful at evading taxes. We foreigners were also adept at evading payment. Many taxes, legitimate and otherwise, were levied on the outdoor advertising business I conducted, and I don't think I ever paid more than one-tenth of the amount levied.

his gypsy troops, and would never have been classified as a public-spirited man. But when he attempted to put the boy emperor back on the throne of China he very probably thought he was doing the best thing for the country. Yuan Shih-kai may have thought the same thing when he made his plans to become emperor himself. Chang Tsao-lin had been a bandit but he performed a real public service when he became the master of Manchuria and brought a semblance of law and order to that great area. Men with backgrounds like theirs could not think of China as anything but a monarchy. A lot of foreigners felt the same way. Most American residents in China whooped it up for the republic, but few Britons, on the other hand, could see any hope in it. Up to 1937 there were some Old China Hands who still talked about the good old days under the Manchus.

There is no reason to believe that some, if not most, of the war lords honestly believed that they were acting for the best interests of China when they sought to unify the country by destroying the power of their rivals. They could think of no other way to achieve unity and probably there was no other. It was the method Chiang Kai-shek used when he finally succeeded. Just what Wu Pei-fu, Tsao Kun, Feng Yu-hsiang or any one of a half dozen others would have done if they had succeeded in this, we have no means of knowing. No one of them ever controlled more than a few provinces at one time.

Behind the scheming, plotting, double-crossing and semicomic battles of the war lords there was a motivating power of ambitions so vast that it is difficult for the ordinary man to grasp them. Every war lord was conscious of the fact that with a series of successes, a run of luck, and a turn of fate, he might become the emperor of China, and found a new dynasty which would make his family name immortal. Besides an ambition

like that, how petty appear the most grandiose of human projects! Dynasties had fallen before, and always been followed by civil war which ended with the establishment of another dynasty. Lowly birth had never provided a bar to the imperial throne. The founders of the great Han dynasty had been very lowly people indeed. They would have been classed with the untouchables if China had been cursed with a caste system such as that of the Hindus. The founder of the Ming dynasty had been a wandering Buddhist monk who traveled with a begging bowl. The war lords saw no reason why history should not repeat itself. All of them had heard of Sun Yat-sen's talk about democracy, but thought of it as they thought of the noise of the wind which rustles the bamboo.

In spite of the vaulting ambitions of the war lords they conducted themselves with a certain amount of restraint and decorum. No one of them was guilty of the posturing and pretensions which were so characteristic of Hitler and Mussolini. The Chinese are too sophisticated, too humorously cynical for monkeyshines of this sort. An attempt to introduce anything resembling the Nazi salute or the "Heil Hitler" greeting would have been met with the raucous laughter of four hundred million people who never overlook an opportunity to laugh at the absurd and the incongruous. Things like that are not done in China.

Autocratic as they may have been in their actions, all the war lords who ever gained any success showed that they were familiar with certain republican forms of thought. The word republican might have had a vague meaning in itself, but it was easy to understand the meaning of "constitution" and "parliament." These were not, in fact, terms that had been brought to China by the revolution. The Manchus had promised to pro-

mulgate a constitution and to establish a parliament, and the fact that they had not fulfilled these promises had contributed to their downfall. The idea that China should have a constitution and a parliament had been under discussion for years. The war lords did not forget this, appeared to recognize the fact that they must make at least a pretense of conforming to these institutions. Almost without exception every war lord tried to legalize his position by conforming to a constitutional rule and by securing the approval of some kind of parliament. The parliament was always hand-picked, coerced or bribed, but it was a symbol of representative government and as such was a political instrument of great and growing importance.

Even Yuan Shih-kai kept a well-trained parliament about him and tried his hand at constitution making. His was a curious document for a republic, may have been paraphrased from the constitution of Japan. It guaranteed the people no rights, was first, last and in between, designed to uphold the power of the president and perpetuate Yuan's tenure of that office. Under his proposed constitution the president held as much power as previously had been held by the emperor. He appointed all other officials, levied taxes, declared war, made peace and signed all treaties. There was a provision for a parliament whose principal duty was to elect a president. It also had the power to impeach him, but under very circumscribed restrictions. The bill of impeachment would fail unless voted by a three-fourths majority with a quorum consisting of four-fifths of the members. As the president had power to convene parliament or to dissolve it, could provide funds for payment of members' salaries or withhold them, a president, once elected, could hold his position for life and presumably be able to dictate the selection of his suc-

cessor. That was what Yuan had in mind but it was his conception of the only way an efficient government of China could be organized under a republic.

The important fact is that Yuan had accepted the idea of a constitution and a parliament. If any official had suggested this to an emperor of China seventy years before this he would most certainly have lost his head. Of course Yuan's constitution didn't embody any liberal or revolutionary ideas. A waggish friend said to me that the difference between his proposed constitutional government and the absolute monarchy which had ruled the country for so many years was like the difference between the shoulders of a snake and the hips of an eel. I agreed with him at the time, but as I review in my mind the long and discouraging struggle of the Chinese for some workable form of self-government, I know that we were wrong. Any written constitution, no matter what its terms, is better than none. Once the rights of the people or the responsibilities of the sovereign are set out in writing, they provide machinery for progress. Written constitutions can be changed but not the whim of an autocratic ruler.

I have no doubt but that if Yuan's rather absurd constitution had been put into effect, not many years would have elapsed before public opinion would have compelled revisions and amendments. The idea of a constitution is one which the Chinese can easily grasp. More than any other people they appreciate the value of the written word because their private lives have been governed by the ethics of Confucius, as expounded in the writings of that great Chinese sage. Since the Chinese were the first people to govern their private lives by a written code, the first to work out a political system which brought millions of widely scattered people under one sovereignty, the Chinese should be fully

capable of framing a constitution to fit their needs.

The war lords toyed with constitutions. They also toyed with national parliaments and provincial assemblies. These were all amateuristic bodies of doubtful legality and of undoubted uselessness as a constructive force. Many of the members sold their votes to war lords who wanted to legalize their positions; others walked out of the body in a huff when they failed to have their own way. For month after month some members of the national parliament would be in Peking, some in Canton and some in Shanghai, each denying the legality of the other body. There were almost always two rump parliaments with telegraph lines busy with controversies over the question of which ones were rump and which legal. This legislative skylarking must have been exceedingly irritating to the realistic military war lords. But they treated these representatives of the people with a considerable amount of calculated respect. A few bribed members of parliament, thus providing a fortunate redistribution of wealth which enabled the representatives of the people to support their families. The parliamentary system such as it was, had been set up in such a hurry and so clumsily that little attention had been paid to the fact that members of parliament, like other people, must eat.

Those of us who lived in China during the hectic headline-making period of the war lords saw no signs of political progress. But there was a great deal of progress, as I can now see. The concept of a written constitution which would define the authority of the government and the rights of the people came to be better understood and accepted by a larger number of people. So did the understanding of the real functions of provincial assemblies and a national parliament. Americans who are inclined to criticize the Chinese for their slow-

ness in solving their political problems should reflect that it was not until more than ten years after our Declaration of Independence that we composed our sectional differences and delegates got together to adopt a constitution.

War lords laid heavy burdens on certain portions of the public by the taxes they levied for the support of their troops. These taxes took the most varied forms though most of them were indirect. The most common method of raising money was to place a garrison in a prosperous town and then make the community support it. It was a kind of blackmail for it was understood that if the troops were not fed, they would loot. Sometimes a war lord added as much as a hundred thousand dollars to his war chest by the offer to move his troops to another area if the local chamber of commerce, usually a very wealthy institution, would pay the cost of transportation. This was an offer that was never refused for it was worth a great deal to any community to be free of the presence of soldiers. Some very rich cities, like Ningpo, bought off the war lords in advance by paying them huge sums to send their troops elsewhere and so to keep them outside the Ningpo trade area.⁷

Each war lord was a law unto himself. A few of them set up their own bureaus of censorship, though the censoring was usually confined to the suppression of newspapers which opposed them or criticized them. This led

⁷ The Ningpo merchants profited so greatly by this arrangement that they used the same method in keeping their port open to trade in spite of Japan's present war on China. The Japanese closed the port of Shanghai in August of 1937, and it was assumed that a similar action would be taken at Ningpo. But representatives of the powerful Ningpo guild in Shanghai contacted influential Japanese business friends who in turn contacted high ranking officers of the Japanese navy. A large sum of money changed hands and the navy ignored the existence of this important port. It has never been closed, though the Ningpo merchants have been compelled to make frequent and regular contribution to certain navy officers of high rank.

to the nominal transfer of a great many Chinese newspapers to foreign ownership in order to place the property under the protection of some foreign flag. One of the most important Chinese dailies in Shanghai was for a long time registered as being under Italian ownership though I know that no Italian had anything to do with the management of the paper and I feel sure that there was not a penny of Italian money invested in the enterprise. About the same time the American flag flew over a Chinese daily in Tientsin and one in Tsinanfu, thanks to a friendly arrangement whereby I became the nominal owner of the two papers. I never set foot inside either plant, nor did I ever get anything for the use of my name except a couple of very good Chinese dinners.

But the fact that I was the publisher of a Shanghai English language daily which was completely owned and managed by Americans did not prevent interference by a small local war lord who was temporarily in control of the Shanghai area. We published a story he did not like and he promptly instructed the Shanghai post office to bar our publication from the mails. This was contrary to protocol, postal regulations, treaty rights and everything else one could think of, but, no matter, the paper was banned. It didn't bother us very much for we sent the papers to Soochow by express and mailed them from there. The war lord in that area had an abiding hatred for the Shanghai war lord and was glad to help us out.

The activities of the war lords were never as devastating as they appeared to be from newspaper accounts. When two or three of them were maneuvering their troops and burning up the telegraph wires with defiant messages it always appeared as if a crucial battle would soon be fought; that a big important front-page story

was in the making. There was almost always an anti-climax. Battles were usually confined to preliminary skirmishes. A great many issues between war lords were compromised by the transfer of a cartload or two of hard silver dollars. We called them "silver bullets." A great many cities changed hands bloodlessly. For example, in 1922, the troops from Yünnan Province "captured" Canton. There was not a shot fired. The local troops marched out and the Yünnanese troops marched in. Later the local troops came back.

The war lords attracted more attention outside than inside China. I was in business in Shanghai during the period when the war lords were most active. I recall the many letters I had to write to friends and business associates in the United States, assuring them that I was in no physical danger, that I could travel throughout China, and that business was very much as usual. Since I began writing this chapter in which the activities of the war lords were referred to, I have discussed the matter with several other Old China Hands who also lived in China during that period. So I am not trusting entirely to memory when I say that at no time did the war lords' troops occupy more than one per cent of the total area of China; at no time did their activities, mostly tax collection, work a hardship on more than one-tenth of the population. The area of China is so vast, and its population so great that a half a dozen armies could march about the country and establish garrisons without seriously disturbing trade or hampering the progress of the country.

In the meantime foreign trade increased. The growing prosperity of the country was shown not only in reports of the Chinese Maritime Customs but in the construction of many new buildings in Shanghai and other commercial centers.

Chapter IV

FATHER OF REPUBLICAN CHINA

MY FIRST meeting with Sun Yat-sen was at daybreak on a cold January morning in 1912. He had then been president of China less than two weeks. With a desire to escape from the reactionary atmosphere of Peking the republicans had established their capital at Nanking, the old capital of the Mings, the purely Chinese dynasty that had been dispossessed by the Manchu Tartars from the north. The presidential quarters were in the old *yamen* formerly occupied by the powerful viceroy who had ruled all of the lower Yangtze Valley. Though some details of the formal abdication of the emperor remained to be arranged, the power of the Manchu court was definitely broken, its authority flouted by every province. On New Year's Day, when Sun assumed office, he had paid an official visit to the tombs of the Ming emperors on the outskirts of Nanking and had solemnly announced to the spirits of the dead that the usurpers had overthrown the Ming dynasty, and had in turn been themselves overthrown. It was a curious gesture for the Christian executive of a republic to make but it was dramatic and made a popular appeal to the Chinese public. In the Chinese social code it is of great importance that the amenities be observed toward the spirits of the dead.

The monarchy which had ruled China for so long was at an end, the powerful viceroys in hiding and the Manchu princes disappearing into the obscurity of pri-

vate life. But many of the old monarchial forms were to remain for decades. Nanking was surrounded by them. The unusual hour which President Sun had appointed for my interview provided an example of this. Early rising was an imperial tradition. The emperor in the Forbidden City in Peking had always opened his court and begun the transaction of official business of the day before the first rays of the rising sun lighted on the walls of the city. That was the time when those who had petitions to present were required to appear, was the busiest period of the day for the hundreds of officials and secretaries. It came as something of a surprise to me, but my Chinese friends were not at all surprised that President Sun should name six o'clock in the morning as the time for the interview. They said he was showing me great courtesy, that to have named a later hour would have indicated that he considered my visit of minor importance. I would willingly have compromised on less courtesy and a more comfortable hour. The hotel was eight miles distant from the *yamen* and the only means of transportation was by means of a rattle-trap carriage drawn by a reluctant pony. With the alarm clock waking me at three o'clock I arrived at the *yamen* just on time.

The ancient gray building with a dominating black tiled roof was in a courtyard surrounded by many of the insignia of imperial rule. At the entrance were the huge carved stone "China dogs" of the kind to be seen in front of every important official building. The flag-staff was not designed to display a modern flag, but a banner. From it hung awkwardly the new five-barred flag of republican China, representing the five peoples of the country—Chinese, Mongols, Tibetans, Manchus and Mohammedans. In one corner of the courtyard was an incinerator where every scrap of wastepaper was

burned to avoid the possibility that an impious foot might tread on a saying of the great sage Confucius. The floors of the *yamen* were tiled and carpetless, the only heat was provided by open braziers. But the most conspicuous object in the courtyard was a shiny new automobile, the first to be seen in Nanking. President Sun had brought it with him from Shanghai as a symbol that republican China meant a definite break with the past and the adoption of the progress symbolized by the machines of the West. The story was that he had intended to ride to the Ming tombs in the car, but that the roads had been impassable for anything but sedan chairs.

Our interview was solely concerned with the future. My assignment had been to find out what the president's plans were for rebuilding the old city so as to make it a modern capital that could show some of the dignity and charm of old Peking. President Sun talked with enthusiasm about plans to build a modern city but without disturbing the beauties of ancient Chinese architecture.¹

At the time of this cold break-of-dawn interview, Sun Yat-sen was forty-five years old and was enjoying personal liberty for the first time in about twenty years. During all of that period he had been a fugitive from justice with a price on his head—probably the highest price ever offered by any government for the head of

¹ After he had talked to me for a few minutes Sun said that his secretary, Ma Soo, whom I knew very well, was thoroughly familiar with his plans and suggested that I get further details from him. Ma Soo appeared to be a little surprised when I brought up the subject, but, between us, we laid out plans for a new and very beautiful Nanking. Parts of the old city wall were to be torn down, broad avenues built from one end of the city to the other, parks, swimming pools, and athletic stadium, everything, in fact, that we could think of. After I had written the interview, Ma Soo showed it to the president who gave it his approval. It was published in the leading Chinese papers. All of the plans Ma Soo and I put on paper were later carried out.

a civilian. He had been an enemy of the Manchus almost from birth and had been hunted by them relentlessly. The son of a poor farmer living near the Portuguese colony of Macao, Sun had been brought up in a revolutionary environment. The antdynastic plots which resulted in the bloody Taiping Rebellion had been hatched near his home. This rebellion had been put down shortly before his birth but many of his father's neighbors had been old Taiping rebels. Plots to overthrow the dynasty continued after the Taipings were defeated, more openly here than in other parts of the country for it was far from the center of authority in Peking.

At the age of twelve Sun went to Honolulu where he spent several years with an older brother who owned a small retail shop there. This was before the American flag waved over the Hawaiian Islands but he attended an American school, conducted by missionaries. He won a prize for his knowledge of English grammar. As Sun's parents were converts he was brought up as a Christian.

Two years after his return to China, Chinese troops were defeated by the French and the Manchu government ceded Annam to France. Sun made a futile journey to Peking to protest this action. He was then nineteen years old. He returned from the capital convinced that the salvation of China lay in the overthrow of the Manchus. He was a principal in a rebellious plot against the Manchus before he was thirty years old and, although he escaped, his fellow conspirators were caught and executed. From that time on he was a marked man, an exile from his own country. The Manchu government offered a prize for his head and as his revolutionary activity increased and he constantly eluded capture, the reward was increased. It was the equivalent of a half million United States dollars in 1911.

For several years Sun found refuge in the British crown colony of Hong Kong where he attended a medical school and attracted the interest of Sir James Cantlie who afterward helped him escape from a daring Manchu plot. He practiced medicine in Macao for a short time and then gave up his practice so that he could devote his entire time to the revolution. Unable to take part in the work of his fellow conspirators in China, he traveled about the world visiting groups of Chinese in East Asia, Europe, England, the United States and Japan. Practically all Chinese living abroad were natives of the rebellious Canton area and they received the revolutionary leader with enthusiasm. He worked up a few plots on foreign soil but Sun's principal function was to raise money from these prosperous *émigrés* for the plotters working in China. He remitted very large sums to them. Spies and assassins, employed by the Manchus, followed him everywhere and his capture or assassination was prevented only by the loyal devotion of his followers. At length, in 1896, he was kidnaped by the Manchus in the heart of London where he had every reason to feel most secure. He was decoyed into the Chinese Legation by a ruse and held a prisoner while feverish preparations were made to smuggle him on board a Chinese gunboat and take him back to China for execution. The prisoner managed to write a note addressed to Sir James Cantlie which he threw to the street from a window of the room in which he was imprisoned. By chance the note was delivered; the British Foreign Office took prompt action and he was released. This incident brought Sun's name to public attention for the first time and also brought to the world its first knowledge that there was an organized movement to overthrow the Manchus.

Dr. Sun was in Denver when he read news of the out-

break of the revolution in Hankow; read it with a sinking heart, for the plans were incomplete, and the outbreak was premature. He went on to Shanghai by way of London, taking with him that strange military genius, "General" Homer Lea. He had for years been a supporter of Sun's and acted as his military adviser. He had made several trips to China. In Shanghai he attracted more attention than Sun. With hazy ideas about American history some of the Chinese newspapers referred to him as General Robert E. Lee of the Civil War, and the Chinese were amazed that a diminutive hunchback could have been one of America's greatest generals. He had arrived too late to be of any service. The fighting was all over with. The Chinese who had done the fighting resented his presence and he soon returned to California.

As soon as I heard that Sun was in Shanghai I hurried to Dr. Wu Ting-fang to find out whether or not Sun was to be the first president of the republic.

"What did you say his name was?" asked Dr. Wu, a little testily.

"Sun Yat-sen," I replied. "Most Chinese call him Sun Wen."

Dr. Wu appeared to think for a moment and then said: "I never heard of him."

A week later Sun was president of republican China and Dr. Wu was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Sun had been elected by a parliament hastily assembled at Nanking. There was no suggestion from any quarter that any other name should be considered. He was the George Washington of China, but there were no Jeffersons, Hamiltons or Adamses. Sun assumed office while booming cannon sent echoes around the hills of Nanking. At night gongs were beaten and colorful lantern processions wound through the ancient streets.

Unlike some others who had plotted to overthrow the Manchus, Dr. Sun had plotted not only for the destruction of Manchu rule but for the absolute monarchial form of government to be replaced by some other form. As early as 1896 he had determined on what he called the three principles of nationalization, democracy and Socialism, in which he epitomized his political principles. In the next quarter of a century he frequently revised this creed, but never abandoned the fundamental idea. It was natural that he should be influenced by Socialistic ideas for Socialists believed in revolution and from them he received most encouraging attentions. He said later that he had learned about democracy in Hong-kong, a strange place for the nurturing of any liberal thought for the English there were all old-school Tories. Before the startling events of 1911, he had talked a great deal about the form of government which China should have, was the only man in China with anything like a clear and definite program, supported by a substantial number of followers. When Sun sensed this on his return to his native land, he advanced the sensible idea that the people needed what he called a "period of tutelage" before taking on all the responsibilities of a representative form of government.

Sun was a complete failure as president. An idealist and a man whose sincerity and flaming patriotism could never be doubted, he was not a practical politician. He was not even familiar with the political forces which had to be composed to insure a stable state. He was a stranger in his own country, was unfamiliar with the personalities with which he had to deal. He was easily influenced by flatterers and had the unhappy faculty of accepting fools and questionable characters as friends. Baffled by contending factions that he did not understand, shocked by the selfishness of those whom he

counted on, realizing that it would be impossible for him to unify the country he resigned the presidency in favor of Yuan Shih-kai, after serving as president for only a few months. Yuan was the man whom the Manchus had called on to save their throne when threatened by the revolutionists. He had not tried very hard, had put up only a token resistance, and a few of the political wiseacres professed to see the plots that were buzzing in his sly old brain while the Manchus were tottering. With the Manchus out of the way, he would be the one strong man in China, the one man qualified to mount the dragon throne. It was not until six weeks after Sun was inaugurated as president that the Manchu emperor finally abdicated and placed on Yuan the responsibility of forming a new government. Yuan soon cut his pigtail, announced his conversion to republican ideas, and in a short time had maneuvered Sun out of office.

For some months after his retirement from the presidency, Dr. Sun lived quietly in a modest house in the French concession of Shanghai. He worked on programs for the industrial development of China and tried to put on paper a workable plan for the government of the country. I saw a great deal of Dr. Sun during this period. Other newspapers, including the Chinese papers, neglected him for what appeared to be the more important activities of his successor, Yuan Shih-kai. Yuan had troops at his command, floated loans, projected railways, cut off the heads of enemies. Dr. Sun just sat in his study and wrote and a few visitors called on him. My editor, Thomas F. Millard, who had scoffed at the idea of a revolution, came to the conclusion that Sun was the real leader of the country, that we should keep him in the news, and give fullest publicity to his ideas. The result was that for months I had a standing assignment to get an interview of some sort from him

at least once a week.² I interviewed him about all kinds of subjects but especially about his political ideas and his plans for the development of the country. Recently I reread his book, *San Min Chu* and many familiar passages recalled the fact that Dr. Sun had said the same thing to me more than thirty years ago. Chinese newspapers were then very amateurish affairs and Chinese reporters knew nothing about the technique of interviewing. But they all published translations of my interview which helped to keep Dr. Sun in the public eye, though a man of his greatness needed no press-agentry from me.

I never had any difficulty about getting to see him, though I often called without an appointment. There were rarely any other visitors and I could not escape the impression that he was a lonely and disappointed man who had for years risked death in a patriotic cause and now found the fruits of victory bitter. He always talked frankly; sometimes I thought too frankly for a man in his position. When foxy old Wu Ting-fang allowed me to quote him as saying something that bordered on the indiscreet, I was always sure that he had done so with some purpose in mind. I never thought that about Sun. For a Chinese he was remarkably, abnormally, guileless. Also, for a Chinese, he was remarkably devoid of a sense of humor. I am sure I never heard him laugh and I rarely saw him smile. While he talked frankly he did not always talk consistently. An idea which filled him with enthusiasm on one visit would, on my next call, be forgotten or subordinated. It was

² At this time S. S. McClure of *McClure's Magazine* offered me what appeared to be a fabulous sum for Sun's autobiography. I offered to ghost-write it, with the aid of my friend, Ma Soo, who was to get a share of the fabulous sum. Ma Soo and I thought everything was understood and I wrote three chapters which Dr. Sun initialed. That was as far as the enterprise went for he refused to help in the fourth chapter. He said he hadn't understood the arrangement.

obvious that he was groping, painstakingly and painfully, to find a solution of China's problems and was not sure of himself. I sometimes thought he welcomed my interviews because they gave him an opportunity to try out his ideas.

His many speeches and public statements showed, like the interviews, a constantly changing point of view, with new plans to accomplish his heart's desire which was the unity of China. At one time, when the war lords were actually shooting each other's soldiers, he expressed the opinion that China could be unified only by military conquest; at other times he preached disarmament to the war lords. His career as a citizen—the leading citizen—of republican China was almost as checkered as his life had been when he was a fugitive from justice under the Manchus. He was the leader of many movements, no one of which was successful; was the head of several provisional governments in Canton, no one of which ever lasted long enough to accomplish anything. He had great hopes for one of these transient governments. He believed that it would be so beneficial, would demonstrate so clearly the blessings of democratic rule that other provinces would voluntarily follow its example. And in that way China would be unified. In order to form this government and make sure of its strength he allied himself with a southern war lord who was in no way unlike the northern war lords Sun was trying to reform or eliminate. All of his friends warned him against this alliance but he persisted in it. Alas for his ambitious and praiseworthy scheme! He soon ran foul of his ally's personal ambitions. The war lord kicked him out, burned his home and library, and would probably have killed him if he had not escaped to Japan. Again he was an exile from his own country.

In all of his political ups and downs, in all of his

fluctuating policies, Sun never lost the loyal support of many of his followers including Chiang Kai-shek, who had been his secretary. Nor did he lose the support of the wealthy Soong family into which he had married, though it must have been difficult at times for the well-to-do Soongs to stomach his more radical ideas.³ In 1924 Dr. Sun was back in Canton, his days definitely numbered by cancer. The thirteen years that had elapsed since the downfall of the Manchus had not been lucky ones. None of his dreams had been realized. A republican government and a unified China appeared much farther away than they had when I saw him in the old *yamen*, in Nanking with the shiny new automobile in the compound. All of China was in the control of the war lords. There was no definite accomplishment to show for the dying man's years of work. Nevertheless he still had faith in China and in his own ideals. He had written voluminously about his plans for China, political plans, economic plans, social plans, but the war lord who had driven him out of Canton had by accident or design set fire to Sun's house and all his papers had been destroyed. He did not have time to rewrite everything so began a series of weekly lectures, speaking extemporaneously.

Then came a cheerful message. Some of the northern war lords who had been slapping each others' ears down for years had composed their differences, arranged a truce and were planning a confederation which would

³ Dr. Sun married Miss Ching Ling Soong, a sister of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Madame H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong. Madame Sun is a woman of such ethereal beauty that she had baffled every writer who had tried to describe her, had left an indelible impression on the memory of everyone who had ever seen her. She is, like her late husband, completely unselfish and her patriotism is so intense that it has a religious quality. Sun Fo, who plays a prominent part in Chinese affairs, is a son of Dr. Sun's first wife. He and his stepmother hold almost identical political views, being far more liberal and progressive than the average member of the Kuomintang.

bring about unity and the formation of a constitutional government. They wanted Dr. Sun to come to Peking and advise them. That was the most encouraging news Sun had had in a long time. He hurried north but by the time he got to Peking the war lords were quarreling again and the idea of unity and a constitutional government was in the discard.

With a new and probably less sympathetic audience Dr. Sun continued his lectures in Peking, for he was too ill to return to Canton. He died in Peking on March 12, 1925. The night of his death was a stormy one, with the wind sending the yellow dust of the Gobi Desert swirling about and dimming the street lights. The morning dawned calm and sunny but to many of the great patriots' followers it was a day of gloom. His undaunted spirit had kept the revolution alive. He had been undiscouraged by failures, had veered from left to right, but had never swerved from his purpose which was the political and spiritual liberation of China. Then his followers learned that the movement he had started was greater than the man himself, that it had become great by inspiring the hopes of millions of men.

With the death of Sun Yat-sen, his mistakes were quickly forgotten. Even his bitterest enemies conceded that they were mistakes of judgment rather than of the heart. No one ever doubted his sincerity nor the pure passion of his patriotism. His personal unselfishness was in striking contrast to the rapacity of the war lords who had robbed the people and piled up personal wealth in the banks in the foreign concessions. He has been given a fitting memorial. High on the side of Purple Mountain, overlooking the city of Nanking and the broad Yangtze River, the Chinese government erected his tomb, the most striking architectural monument in the country. It stands there as a symbol of the new China which he strove so hard to create.

Chapter V

LEGACY OF SUN YAT-SEN

FOR the past decade few public meetings of any kind have been held in China without being opened by the reading of the will of Sun Yat-sen, a document written just before his death. The will, very brief and simple, reads as follows:

For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations. My experiences during these forty years have firmly convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those people of the world who treat us on the basis of equality.

The work of the revolution is not yet done. Let all our comrades follow my *Plans For National Reconstruction*, *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction*, *Three Principles of the People* and the *Manifesto* issued by the First National Convention of our Party, and strive earnestly for their consummation. Above all, our recent declarations in favor of the convocation of a National Convention and the abolition of unequal treaties should be carried into effect with the least possible delay. This is my heartfelt charge to you.

It will be seen that although the will in itself is brief, the various documents which his followers are enjoined

to read and follow actually form appendices to the will. Of these *The Three Principles of the People*, the most important work, runs to about one hundred and twenty thousand words. The reason for its great length is that it is not a carefully written and well-edited book, but consists of the text of sixteen lectures delivered in Canton and Peking in 1924, a series which was never completed owing to Dr. Sun's death. The lectures which were extemporaneous, contain a great many repetitions, and much useless material. Any good editor could present all the lectures contained in a volume of fifty thousand words.¹ Anyone who tries to follow his statistics soon finds himself dizzy for he handles figures the way a Chinese juggler handles his stage props. But these lectures, as they stand, constitute almost the sole source of political and social thought in China today. It is on the basis of Dr. Sun's teaching that the present government of China was organized. Patriotic youth organizations make it their business to publish and distribute copies. It is to the Kuomintang party what *Mein Kampf* is to the Nazis, a comparison that is not quite fair to Dr. Sun, for he and Hitler had nothing in common. There is no doubt but that they will have a permanent effect on the political thought of China. For this reason alone they deserve more careful study than has been given them. Aside from that they are well worth reading, revealing as they do the opinions on world affairs of a studious and especially well-read Chinese. Americans will find it an illuminating experience to learn what a Chinese critic, who was not unfriendly, thought about us and our institutions.

The three principles were: Nationalism, democracy, and livelihood, placed in what Dr. Sun believed to be

¹ Since writing this chapter I see that the latest edition of the official *China Year Book*, this classic of Chinese political thought, has been suitably condensed to easily readable length.

the logical order of development in the politically chaotic China which was left by the revolution. It will be noted that in his original exposition of the "three principles" he had labeled them as "nationalism, democracy and socialism." Now they were "nationalism, democracy and *livelihood*." He had abandoned his original idea that socialism was the ideal method by which a people could gain their livelihood.

The lectures on nationalism were pointed at the unequal treaties which denied complete sovereignty to China but he told the Chinese that while they were a homogeneous race, China was not a nation in the sense that other races were. He painted a dark picture of the future of the country unless the people united and became strong. There was a great deal in the lectures on nationalism which will serve to perpetuate anti-foreign prejudice in China. His criticism of foreign nations was leveled principally at the United States and Great Britain whom he apparently considered the greatest menaces to the integrity of China. There is in his lectures no mention of the Nine-Power Treaty or other moves which had been made to protect China against Japan. Nor is there any mention of Japan as a possible menace to China. He handles the Japanese very gingerly, has nothing but praise for Germany. He said that after suffering defeat in the European war, the Germans "are advocates of right rather than might." As to other nations, he said, "England, France, and Italy are continuing on the road of imperialism, while the United States throws away the Monroe Doctrine and keeps step with them." The Communist influence is seen in his statement: "In every country, although the apparent power is in the hands of the government, real control is with the capitalists; the new Russian policy would smash this control, so the capitalists of the world are

panic-stricken." Americans who read the book will doubtless be surprised to learn that "The United States, after the extermination of the red aborigines, began to open up trade with European countries." Equally surprising is the statement that the United States' entry into the first World War "was due entirely to racial considerations." He explains that as we were of the same blood as the British, we could not allow them to be defeated. We also learn that in the United States, "All the citizens have received military training in high school and college so that the government can at any time add hosts of soldiers to the army."

Full of inaccuracies, exaggerations and distortions, the lectures on the principle of nationalism do not make pleasant reading. But they should be read with sympathetic consideration of the background under which they were delivered and the peculiar and serious political problems of the country. He was trying to arouse his politically apathetic countrymen to a realization of the dangers the country faced. While Japan was the country providing the immediate military threat it was the other nations which had forced economic dependence on China by the imposition of the unequal treaties. This had been done at a time Japan was merely a backward feudal nation of farmers and fishermen. Perhaps Dr. Sun thought that as the "imperialistic powers" were responsible for China's helpless position, he was justified in portraying them as playing a leading part in plans to dismember China. Perhaps he really believed there was no danger from Japan, or perhaps he may have been afraid to say anything against Japan. Whatever may have been the reasons for a series of lectures in which strong appeals were made to national prejudices, the two aims for which he was working have been accomplished since his death. The Chinese people have

become unified and have acquired a sense of nationality, partly through the impact of Japanese aggression which drove the contending factions together as the only means of self-preservation. A cement has been found for the loose tray of sand to which China had been likened. The unequal treaties have been ended. With the defeat of Japan, China will stand as an equal among nations.

The lectures on democracy are more constructive, on a much higher plane. Dr. Sun portrays democracy as a result of the natural progress and evolution of man. China had made more progress in this direction than any other country. The Chinese people were democratic in thought but never put democracy into practice. "The world tendency toward democracy," he said, "is like the Yangtze River which makes crooks and turns, sometimes to the north and sometimes to the south, but in the end flows eastward and nothing can stop it." In his examination of practical workings of democratic governments he was grieved at the manifest inefficiency of any democratic form of government. He thought the highest development of the democratic form had been reached in some of the northwestern American states where the citizens not only had the right of suffrage but the right to initiate legislation, to hold a referendum on proposed legislation and to recall officials who had been duly elected. As a doctrinaire this complete development of the machinery of democracy met with his approval. As a disillusioned skeptic who had seen all of his plans for a democratic government in China go sour, he had a narrowly circumscribed faith in the ability of the common man to exercise any discretion regarding political affairs. He was thinking, of course, about the common man of China who had never been allowed to take any part in political affairs. In the back of his mind

Dr. Sun always had a great admiration for the genius of Bismarck who had been shrewd enough to unify Germany and set up an authoritarian government which silenced the democrats of Germany without making the least surrender to democratic ideas. In his quest for the perfect government, Dr. Sun came perilously near the Nazi and Fascist idea of leadership, of the sovereignty of the superior man. "Equality," he said, "is an artificial, not a natural thing and the only equality which we can create is equality in political status."

From this point Dr. Sun developed the idea that a clear distinction should be made between sovereignty and ability. As in oversimplification of his ideas I will summarize them by saying that while he believed that the sovereignty of the country resided in the people he believed that the conduct of the government was a matter that concerned experts, that is, men of ability. One of his homely illustrations of this point was that of a man who owned a motorcar but did not know how to drive it, so he employed a chauffeur. The owner of the car retained his sovereignty over it, but the chauffeur represented the function of the government because he knew how to make the machine run efficiently.

This idea that government officials should be men of ability was not a new one in China, though Dr. Sun was the first to make a clear distinction between sovereignty of the people and ability of the people. For many centuries, for more than a thousand years before Manchu rule, China had a system of civil service and all officials were graded according to civil service ratings. Republican China has adopted that system as will be explained in more detail in a later chapter.

After groping and struggling Dr. Sun had finally adopted the philosophy of Karl Marx, had given the Communist revolution in Russia his wholehearted ap-

proval and from all appearances was planning a Communist China. In fact, the famous Michael Borodin and other Communist adventurers from Russia were in China at the time Dr. Sun was delivering his lectures. They had been brought to China as advisers, and were usurping a great many government functions. It appeared inevitable that China would become one of the component parts of the Union of Soviet Republics.

Foreigners in Shanghai and other treaty ports were frightened out of their wits. An international committee in Shanghai, under British leadership, organized what we called the "Constitutional Defense League" and spent many thousands of dollars on propaganda to combat Communistic ideas. I was chairman of the sub-committee on propaganda and for months did little but supervise the translation and mailing of thousands of booklets, pamphlets and letters. A lot of us were sure that unless something was done quickly China would go completely Communistic and all of the terrible things the Communists had done or were supposed to have done in Russia would be repeated in China. Whether or not our propaganda accomplished anything I was never able to determine. Anyway, interest in the movement slackened after a few months and the Constitutional Defense League which had started off so flourishingly was compelled to close because of lack of funds. Some critics embarrassed us by calling us Fascists, which some of our supporters undoubtedly were. We had a good deal of admiration for Mussolini, followed his activities with great interest.

After Dr. Sun started his lectures the most curious and extraordinary thing happened—so curious and extraordinary that the whole story cannot be told in orderly continuity. It is necessary to throw back to events of the past, as sometimes is done in the cinema. In 1920,

Dr. Maurice William, a Russian-born dentist living in New York, published a book, *The Social Interpretation of History*, in which he refuted the theories of Karl Marx and all other Socialists. The book was all the more convincing because of the circumstances under which it had been written. Dr. William was one of the first to join the Socialist party in the United States, for years had been an active worker in Socialist circles in Brooklyn and Manhattan. But faith in the purity of the socialist doctrine had been shaken by the outbreak of the World War when he saw German and French Socialists lining up against each other, forgetting their Socialist doctrines to fight what was certainly not a class war. He suddenly realized that he had been accepting Socialist slogans coined by others without making a thorough study of the matter himself. He determined to erase from his mind the slogans of the leaders, and to decide for himself the truth or fallacy of the teachings of Marx. It was not any easy task, for he had no formal education. But he studied hundreds of books and finally found the flaw in the Marx ideas—a flaw that hundreds of scholarly opponents of Socialism and Communism had never detected.

Briefly, and with oversimplification, the flaw was that Marx and all the other Socialist doctrinaires had considered the proletariat only as wage earners, as producers of goods which the capitalist class sold at a profit. They ignored the fact that the producer is also a consumer, that he shared equally with all others in the common social gains typified by a rising standard of living. The capitalistic system employed the worker; it also provided a method for the production and distribution of goods which the workman purchased. A study showed that over a long period of years the workman had made great social progress, living on a constantly improving

scale. "The masses have progressed and progressed rapidly," said Dr. William, "but the gains came to them not as producers but as consumers, as social beings." Having completed his studies and arrived at his conclusions, Dr. William wrote his thesis. He did not write it for the general public, but for his Socialist friends. He hoped that they would prove him wrong, would resurrect his old warm faith in socialism as a cure for the economic ills of the world. The three hundred copies of the book which he had had printed were all sent to Socialists with a letter asking for their comments.

Dr. William, who is one of my intimate friends, has often told me about his hopes that they would find flaws in his argument, do something or say something that would enable him to return to the old comforting belief that Socialism would abolish poverty and make the world a better place in which to live. A belief in Socialism had constituted a large part of his spiritual life. To renounce that belief would leave a void that would be difficult to fill. He waited in vain for replies to his letters. When it was obvious that there would be none, he sadly and reluctantly, resigned from the party.

Having severed his connections with his old comrades, Dr. William sought a publisher for his book, but found none. It made rather heavy reading and the subject matter was not one in which very many people were interested. He had two thousand copies of the book printed at his own expense and peddled them to book-stores in New York with very little success. The manager of the American News Company would not place an order, but Dr. William left him a sample copy in the hope that some business might develop. Three years later the manager telephoned an order for forty copies which he said were being sent to China. Dr. William had no difficulty about filling the order. Most of the two

thousand books were still piled up in his apartment. This was at the time when the Communist influence was at its peak in China and Dr. Sun had started or was just about to start on his series of weekly lectures, referred to above.

No one was surprised that the first lectures were radically Socialistic. Dr. Sun echoed all of the Socialist writers in talking about the struggle between classes as an historical fact. He copied the plans of the Russian revolutionist by advocating the socialization of the land and of capitalistic enterprises. As the leader of the revolution and the founder of the Kuomintang political party his words carried great weight, were accepted without question by thousands of his politically inexperienced followers. China appeared to be heading toward Communism with a momentum that nothing could stop.

In May, after twelve lectures had been delivered, they were suddenly discontinued and Dr. Sun went into seclusion. When the lectures were resumed in August his listeners were surprised to find that he had made a complete change in his political ideas. He repudiated the Marxist ideas he had supported so warmly only a few months before. Instead of talking about the class struggle he said that capital and labor had common interests and should work together, that China would obtain peace and prosperity by harmonizing their interests. What had happened to make the Chinese leader change his opinions so radically? He had been in seclusion, had seen practically no one. But it developed that he had spent the summer months reading and studying Dr. William's *Social Interpretation of History*. He gave full credit to the book for his change, quoted from it liberally in his later lectures. The later lectures were not sufficient to stop the movement toward Communism but they did halt its rapid progress. The obscure

book which had fallen into his hands by chance changed the political development of China and in the belief of many eminent historians, has changed the history of the world. Certainly if death had overtaken the Chinese leader before he reversed his ideas of Communism, the government of China would be very different from what it is today. It would be very gratifying to be able to say that our Constitutional Defense League had had something to do with this change in views, but that was not true. As head of the propaganda committee I bought copies of dozens of anti-Communist books and presented them to libraries in different parts of China. But I did not buy the *Social Interpretation of History* for the very good reason I had never heard of it.²

As is clearly indicated by the terms of his will, Dr. Sun ended his days in complete confidence that the system of government he had worked out so laboriously provided a complete solution for the country's political problems. In one of his rare moments of exuberance, he said: "Such a government will be the most complete and the finest in the world, and the state with such a government will indeed be by the people, of the people, and for the people." He did not live to see any of his theories put into practice. But shortly after his death the Kuomintang party which took over the sovereignty of the country, expressed his ideas in the form of laws which have been in effect for more than a dozen years. Were it not for the fact that during that period the world has been disturbed by wars and rumors of wars, the novel theories of Dr. Sun which have been put into practice in China would doubtless have received a great deal more attention.

² It was not until several years after the death of Sun Yat-sen that Dr. William learned of the influence he had had on the Chinese leader, and then by accident. He has since received many high honors from the Chinese government, and from the Kuomintang.

Dr. Sun may become known as one of the world's great economists solely because of the new system of land taxes which have been adopted in China. The idea of this system doubtless came to him as a result of his study of Henry George, but the plan is completely original. Sun was disturbed by the growth of a wealthy class of landowners who had not acquired wealth through industry and thrift, but solely because of the unearned income on land which they owned. This was a comparatively new development in China where farm land values had remained fairly static for many centuries. The development of ports, the building of highway and the development of industries had sent the value of land in some areas skyrocketing. "Why," he asked, "had the land in certain sections of Canton and Shanghai greatly increased in value?"

Answering his own question, he said: "It was because the people in the community chose a certain section as the industrial and commercial center and made their improvements upon it that land values in this section began to rise. This proves that the rise on land value should be credited to the people and to their efforts; the landowner himself had nothing to do with the rise."

As the first step in solving this problem of distributing unearned increment more justly, Dr. Sun proposed the following:

"The landowner reports the value of his land to the government and the government levies a land tax accordingly. Meanwhile the government makes two regulations; first, that it will collect taxes according to the declared value of the land; second, that it can also buy back the land at the same price. According to this plan, if the landowner makes a low assessment, he will be afraid lest the government buy back his land at the value and makes him lose his property; if he makes too high

an assessment, he will be afraid of his losses—through heavy taxes."

This is the system that has been in operation in China since the time the National Government assumed power in Nanking. This simple and eminently fair arrangement has greatly simplified the acquisition by the government of land for public buildings, streets and highways, and the only people who have suffered have been the tax dodgers. Of course land may increase in value, either through improvements made by the owner or through a general rise in property values in the neighborhood and the owner must for his own protection make revisions in his valuation. If the increase in value has come through his own efforts, he merely pays taxes on the increased valuation. But if, as is more often the case, land has increased in value because of some public improvement or for any other reason outside the control of the landowner, then he must pay a tax on his unearned increment. Recently in the Chungking municipal area this tax was fixed at 16 per cent. In a recent year the ordinary taxes in this area were five million dollars but the taxes on unearned increment amounted to twelve million dollars. There is nothing confiscatory about this tax system, nothing that anyone can complain about.

Chapter VI

FOUNDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

ALTHOUGH there were a few petty war lords in the west and south, the ones who had done the most to upset the country for so many years were in the north. This was in keeping with the old Chinese tradition that warriors were noodle eaters, that warlike enterprises could not be carried out successfully by men whose principal diet was rice. Noodles constituted the staple article of diet in the north, rice in the south. Throughout Chinese history the tide of conquest had always flowed from the north to the south. Northerners, always threatened by the hungry hordes of warlike tribes living north of the Great Wall had always feared invasions and prepared against them. According to immemorial usage fields on the plains of North China were always plowed with furrows from east to west so as to make the advance of war carriages more difficult. Southerners, living far from any point of danger, were presumed to be weaker and more effeminate. Certainly they are much smaller in stature than the strapping northern men, many of whom are more than six feet tall.

But while the northern war lords were quarreling among themselves, an entirely new type of military leader was coming into power in the south and was preparing to upset all Chinese traditions by marching a victorious army northward. Aside from being a southern rice eater, he was distinguished by something else. He was the first of the military leaders to fight in support

of well-defined political principles and to have the backing of a fairly well organized political party. Few people had ever heard of him before he emerged as the outstanding figure in Chinese military circles. Chiang Kai-shek was a rice eater, for he was born in the province of Chekiang, a little more than a hundred miles south of Shanghai. His family was fairly well-to-do, neither poor nor rich, and he was sent to one of the few schools in the neighborhood. His teachers say that he was an unusually serious student and photographs of him show a remarkably grave countenance for a teen-age boy. The fact that he was born in Chekiang was a political handicap which he has not yet overcome, for the Cantonese on whom he had to rely for his principal support are a clannish lot, imbued with more than the ordinary provincial prejudices.

In China the students, the intelligentsia of the future, have always paid a great deal of attention to public affairs, more perhaps than their sophisticated and cynical elders. Young men want to change things, old men accept conditions as they are. Chiang was one of many students who were deeply aroused by the Russo-Japanese War. Russia, a supposedly great European power, had been defeated by Japan, an oriental country, only recently aroused from centuries of seclusion. That indicated hope that China, another oriental country, might also become a strong military power. The success of Japan not only gave many Chinese new hopes, but demonstrated the weakness of China itself. The war between Russia and Japan had been fought on Chinese soil and for the control of Chinese territory.¹ Chiang

¹ The Chinese did not know, as many Americans do not know today, that the Japanese victory was principally due to the fact that the great powers did not wish Russia to win and thus become a dominating factor in the Far East. President Theodore Roosevelt called the Portsmouth Peace Conference just in time to prevent the defeat of Japan.

and some of his schoolmates determined to give up their studies and become soldiers, a profession which at the time was despised by students.

Without waiting to investigate the terms of admission, he hastily cut his queue and went to Japan to enter a military school. There he learned that the Japanese military schools would accept Chinese as students only if they had been approved by the Manchu government which maintained a preparatory military school in North China. In spite of the fact that his queueless state was certain to cause him embarrassment, he returned to China and entered the North China school. How he justified the queue cutting to Manchu officials has never been satisfactorily explained. His official biographer only says that it made him conspicuous.

After he had completed the preparatory course and passed the examination, the Chinese government—the Manchu government which he was to help overthrow—sent him to a military school in Japan. It was a hard school, still preparatory. Students were required to go through with the same training given to recruits in the Japanese army. He was a second-class private in the army for more than a year before being allowed to enter the Tokyo Military College. Later he was stationed at Takada where the winter weather is much more severe than it is in Chekiang. "Every day," he said later, "I washed my face with ice cold water and had at each meal but one bowl of rice together with several slices of pickled turnip and salt fish." He must have been imbued with a spirit of patriotism that was unusual in China at the time. More than thirty years later he recalled:

"The routine of life in the barracks consisted of a rigid military drill daily, of caring for horses and sundry other labor. I did everything cheerfully that a soldier should do to harden his physique. I learned with con-

centration of mind, with endurance and patience. As time went on I no longer took the drudgery as suffering but felt most happy as a soldier to be able to stand hunger, cold, hardship, and labor.”²

Chiang made the most of his opportunity to learn military science in the Japanese schools. In later years, when he outmaneuvered and baffled greatly superior Japanese forces in the Yangtze Valley, the Japanese military leaders must have regretted that their schools had given him such excellent training. His original desire to become a soldier had been because the Russo-Japanese War had revealed the weakness of China and he wanted to help protect his country against foreign aggressions—that is support and strengthen the Manchu dynasty. He was in much the same position as George Washington, who helped the red-coated British troops uphold the sovereignty of England when French forces threatened the British colonies.

While in Japan Chiang Kai-shek met that quiet, persistent, persuasive revolutionist, Sun Yat-sen, twenty years his senior. Sun soon convinced the patriotic young scholar from Chekiang that the salvation of China, its preservation from foreign aggression and the recovery of its national rights could best be accomplished by the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, rather than by strengthening it. Sun at that time was devoting most of his attentions to work among Chinese students in military schools, hoping to overthrow the Manchus with their own army. Sun was also working to turn his anti-dynastic supporters into a genuine political party with a constructive program. Chiang became Sun’s devoted and most valuable disciple, acted as his secretary, lived to put into practical effect many of Sun’s political theories.

² Speech to student volunteers in Chungking, January 11, 1944.

When Chiang read in the Japanese newspapers about the revolt in Hankow he became a technical deserter from the Japanese army. He secured a forty-eight hour furlough and went to Tokyo where Chinese rebel sympathizers loaned him some money. He changed to civilian clothing, packed his uniform and sword in a bag and took the first boat to Shanghai. He sent the sword and uniform back to his regimental headquarters by parcel post. His old leader, Sun Yat-sen, had not reached Shanghai, but he hunted up the local revolutionary leaders and offered his services. He was soon in command of a regiment of the "Dare to Die" volunteers, led them on a successful assault against the Manchu garrison which was still holding out in Hangchow. Later he took part in some of the sporadic fighting around Shanghai. After the Manchu abdication, he founded and was editor and publisher of a magazine on military science. For a young man of twenty-five who had never been out of Asia and could read nothing but Chinese and Japanese in his publication he showed a remarkable grasp of world affairs.

He wanted to go to Germany to attend a military school but he went into business instead, becoming a stockbroker in Shanghai. He had no idea of abandoning the revolutionary cause or of deserting Sun Yat-sen, but he wanted to be independent financially. With the help of some wealthy patrons he soon accumulated a nest egg. Many wealthy Chinese, disturbed by the chaotic conditions in the country, were investing their money in stocks of rubber companies in Malaya and Indonesia and in stocks in American companies. The time was opportune for investments of this kind for China's currency was on a silver basis and the price of silver was abnormally high.

As soon as he had accumulated some money for

himself Chiang rejoined his old leader, Sun Yat-sen, who was in Canton at the head of one of his provisional governments. Sun sent him to Moscow, to investigate the Red army and also to see if the organization methods of the Communist party could be used by the Kuomintang. Chiang remained in Russia for four months meeting most of the Communist leaders and on his return, reopened and reorganized the Whampoa Military Academy at Canton. The purpose of the school was to train young men, mostly from southern China, to become officers in the new army which the Kuomintang was raising to drive the northern war lords from power. Associated with him in the school were several Russian advisers, all of whom were Communists. Even the Kuomintang had communist advisers who were employed to advise on party organization but overlooked no opportunity to inject Communist ideas.

Sun Yat-sen died while the army he had planned was still in the making, and his Kuomintang party was threatening to disintegrate. But strangely enough his death brought new strength to the party of which he became the patron saint. While alive he had been a hard leader to follow—one who made unexpected and unpredictable changes in policy. With his death he left his followers a fairly clear-cut statement of policy confused only by his early approval and later disapproval of Russian Communism.

Less than three months after his death the tragically unfortunate "May Thirtieth Incident" unified a large section of China in a wave of anti-foreign feeling directed principally against the British. The incident provided a bloody illustration of the evils under which China suffered because of the loss of her sovereignty. Indeed all the talent in Hollywood could not have staged a drama that would have brought out more dra-

matically and convincingly the injustices under which China suffered because of the unequal treaties. There had been some labor trouble in a Japanese cotton mill and a few Chinese students, charged with being "agitators" had been arrested and thrown into cells in the Louza police station on Nanking Road. A crowd of students, who had followed the police when the arrests were made, milled about the entrance to the station, demanding the release of their comrades. As it was a Sunday afternoon the police station was understaffed and some of the higher police officials could not be reached by telephone as they were attending an important cricket match. After vainly calling on the unruly crowd to disperse, the English sergeant in charge ordered a squad of Sikh policemen to fire, and nine of the students were killed⁸ and many others were wounded. It was an act of the greatest stupidity, explainable only by the supposition that the sergeant was excited and lost his head completely. News of this unhappy event spread rapidly all over China, resulting in an intense anti-British boycott which in many places extended to other foreigners as well.

Coming so soon after the death of Sun Yat-sen, this incident appeared to supply tragic support for his contention that the Chinese must regain their complete sovereignty, and do away with foreign concessions and settlements which made acts such as this possible. What made the tragedy complete was the fact that the original arrest of the students had been irregular, to say the least. The Japanese mill owners had been using the municipal police as strike breakers. Some foreigners thought that another Boxer uprising was in the making. Actually there was little violence against foreigners and

⁸ Returning home from a golf game I arrived at the scene of the massacre only a few minutes after it occurred, as the bodies were being carried away and fire hoses were washing the blood from the street.

little personal animus considering the provocation. In the quarter century that had elapsed since the Boxer trouble millions of Chinese had become politically conscious. They knew that China could not rid herself of foreign domination, according to the Boxer plan, which was to kill all the foreigners in China. They knew that in order to regain her sovereignty China had to be strong and united. Dr. Sun's Kuomintang party was the only organization that appeared to have a constructive program for the accomplishment of this aim. The party grew in power, the northern war lords lost prestige and Chiang Kai-shek went ahead with his military preparations with increased confidence.

In the summer of 1926, his army started its march northward from Canton, commanded by officers who had been trained by Chiang in the Whampoa Academy. No army just like it had ever been seen in China. Not only was it better trained and better equipped than the rabble armies of the north, but its organization was unique. Ahead of the army there marched a well-trained corps of propagandists who by word of mouth and by printed propaganda explained to the people the reasons for the expedition, and urged them to welcome the soldiers as patriots who were going to unify China and liberate the country from foreign control. It was natural that a good deal of vicious anti-foreign propaganda should have been included. The expedition was accompanied by a number of Russian Communists and their Chinese disciples.

Sun Yat-sen had invited Borodin and other Russian revolutionary leaders to come to China to help him organize the Kuomintang. They appeared to be the logical experts to take on such an assignment. Great sprawling Russia had been, before the revolution, as politically inarticulate as was great sprawling China.

China's revolution had come first, had been successful in bringing an end to the Manchu dynasty but had not brought unity to China. The comparatively recent Russian revolution had ended with one party in control of the country. There were party dissensions but no civil wars. Since the Russians had accomplished what he had failed to accomplish, it was natural that Sun should ask them for expert help. The Russians leaped at the opportunity. Revolutionary work was the bread and meat of their spiritual lives. Besides, this appeared to be a heaven-directed opportunity to carry forward a great project which at that time engrossed the thoughts of many ardent Communists—an ambitious scheme to bring the whole world under the sway of Communist ideas.

To Borodin and the other skilled Russian revolutionists the problem in China appeared absurdly simple. It was in many ways similar to the problem they had faced in creating unified support for the Russian revolution. Russia was composed of a great mass of politically ignorant people to whom the most powerful appeal was through their prejudices. As most of them were peon tenants of the great landlords an appeal to their hatred of this class was enough to unify them in support of the revolution.⁴ In China the big landlord class was neither large enough nor important enough to attack. The Chinese revolution was not, like that in Russia, a class revolution. Many of the prominent members of the revolutionary Kuomintang were wealthy men. Borodin and the other experts, after carefully reviewing the situation, came to the logical conclusion that the issue which would do most to unify the country was one of the special rights enjoyed by foreigners. They could

⁴ This was the device followed later by Hitler in stirring up hatred for the Jews and by the Japanese in East Asia in stirring up hatred for the Americans and the British.

propose this program consistently because their government had voluntarily surrendered those rights and every Russian was subject to Chinese law, to trial in Chinese courts and to incarceration in Chinese jails. Some of these who worked up this campaign of hatred for the foreigner became very familiar with the interior of Chinese jails a year or so later.

The anti-foreign campaign served its purpose of unifying large segments of the Chinese population in support of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek's spectacularly successful military drive from Canton to Peking. Educated Chinese with their newly awakened pride of nationality were humiliated by the fact that their country's sovereignty was circumscribed by the terms of treaties which had been imposed by force. The ordinary man who drank tea and ate watermelon seeds in the teashop didn't know very much about the terms of these treaties but he did know that a group of Chinese students had been shot down and killed in Shanghai by orders of a British police officer.

On the way north the propagandists who preceded Chiang's armies made the most of this anti-foreign sentiment. How far Chiang had given them the green light on this I do not know and I doubt if very many people do know. There was no reason why he should not have given the program his complete approval, though I feel sure he did not anticipate the length to which it would go. As the armies marched north the propagandists made speeches in the courtyards of the city temples telling the people about imperialism, the unequal treaties and the massacre of the students in Shanghai. When the army entered Nanking, a general slaughter of foreigners was begun.⁵ Half a dozen Ameri-

⁵ Months later General Chiang conducted a military investigation of these murders and more than fifty Chinese were executed. There is

cans had been killed and many more would have been if the commander of an American gunboat had not laid down a barrage which held the Chinese troops while the Americans escaped over the city wall. It was after the capture of Nanking that the long pent-up anger against foreigners found expression in many acts of violence. The old long-dreaded days of the Boxers were lived over again in many an isolated mission compound.

As it continued its victorious advance, Chiang's army was welcomed by the Chinese people. Before this, Chinese armies had always arrived like bandits, unannounced, their missions undisclosed. By explaining to the people what his mission was, Chiang made allies of them. All along the line of march there were young men ready to join his colors. This was a bit of political strategy the Chinese had undoubtedly learned from their Russian advisers who had used the same method so successfully in their revolution.

Though there were without doubt some individual instances of looting there was no organized large-scale looting as in the case of armies which were then wandering about many different parts of China. The soldiers paid for what they bought at the shops. The Kuomin-tang which was sponsoring the expedition may have shaken down various chambers of commerce for military contributions but as support of the party was constantly growing, it is more than probable that these contributions were, in the main, voluntary. T. V. Soong, the financial genius of China, looked after the finances of the expedition and he is not known to use rough methods. There were several other features which made Chiang's military campaign unique, aside from its outstanding success. He did not set up military governments

a popular story to the effect that the murders were instigated by Communists in order to compromise Chiang.

but upheld the authority of civilian officials. He did not compromise with rival war lords or avoid decisive battles with them.

In these battles he was uniformly victorious. In a little more than a year, he had control of the important Wu-Han⁶ cities. The Kuomintang now had the rice-eating section south of the Yangtze under almost complete control. Chiang's stoutest adversaries were located in the noodle-eating north, with armies commanding all the routes to Peking. Most of the club barroom strategists in Shanghai assumed that he would pause in Hankow, perhaps end his campaign there and be content to rule South China. By going north he would not only run into the strongest of the war lords but also run foul of the Japanese who by one method or another had established many special interests for themselves in that area. Foreign diplomats were of the same opinion. No one—that is, no foreigners—gave him credit for honesty when he said he was going to bring all of China under one unified government. But Chiang barely paused at Hankow. He must have felt a professional soldier's contempt for these northern war lords who commanded troops only because they were able to employ a rabble-army who would do what they were ordered to do so long as they were fed and paid with a fair degree of regularity. Not a single one of the war lords whose names were appearing in headlines all over the world could have qualified for the rank of sergeant in the tough and efficient Japanese army in which Chiang had received the most thorough training. His armies pushed

⁶The three Wu-Han cities are Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang, located at the junction of the Yangtze and Han rivers six hundred miles from Shanghai. From a strategic and commercial point of view, Shanghai may be compared to New York, the Wu-Han cities to Chicago. It was here, it will be recalled, that the Chinese revolution started on October 10, 1911.

north, encountering much less resistance than was expected and were soon in possession of Peking, itself. The Japanese, alarmed at the success of this expedition, blocked Chiang's path for a time by massing troops at Tsinanfu on the Tientsin-Pukow railway, but he later marched north after some bloody but indecisive fighting. Wu Pei-fu had a supposedly strong army in his path but the army just got out of his way.

As the Nationalist armies approached the foreign area of Shanghai, there were very ugly rumors. It was said that the Nationalists were going to put an end to the special rights enjoyed by foreigners in China by a military occupation of the citadel of those rights—the International Settlement of Shanghai. The old Boxer nightmare came back again. Warnings that the danger was very grave came from the very highest authorities, officials who had private sources of information. The situation was confused because our diplomats and those of every other country had remained in Peking where they dealt with any war lord who happened to have physical possession of the Forbidden City and no one knew much about the Nationalists. But we did know that when they occupied Hankow earlier in the year they had made themselves at home in the British concession, which was later surrendered.

We were all thoroughly alarmed and made preparations for defense. Along with hundreds of others, principally Americans and British, I joined the special police, took lessons in revolver shooting and for several months wore a policeman's uniform.⁷ American, British, French, Dutch, Japanese and Italian gunboats steamed into the harbor until we had more than a hundred of them at anchor. The British rushed troops from Hong

⁷ With a sergeant's stripes, if I may be allowed to say so.

Kong and India. The first to arrive were the Bengali's and the Punjabi's, to be followed by the Cold Stream Guards, the Devons and other famous British regiments. We sent a regiment from the Philippines. Finally we had an armed force of twenty thousand men, a much larger international army than had been assembled to raise the siege of the legations in Peking during the Boxer uprising. I was assigned the very interesting task of acting as liaison officer for various British regiments. They needed the advice of an Old China Hand for these fresh British regiments couldn't tell the difference between Japanese and Chinese soldiers. On one occasion a company of Japanese cavalry advancing toward the settlement boundary at a gallop would have been fired on by a British sentry guard if an Old China Hand had not been present to advise who the supposed invaders were.

Then, slowly, the tension eased. Order was restored in Nanking. Chiang Kai-shek went there to establish the Nationalist government in the ancient capital. Chinese soldiers moved out of the Shanghai area. Many of the foreign troops were sent home. As I look back at it now, I can't understand just why we should have been so alarmed. No matter how much Chiang might have wanted to destroy the special privileges of the foreign powers he was certainly too astute to risk war with all of them, which was a possibility if not a certainty he would have faced if he had attacked the settlement. There are stories that T. V. Soong, who was to become his brother-in-law later in the year, talked him out of the project, but these I do not believe.

However, this speculation is idle. The important thing is that Chiang did what Sun Yat-sen had unsuccessfully attempted to do. He established the National

Government of China in the old capital of Nanking where it functioned without interruption for more than ten years.⁸

The new National Government did not govern all of China but its authority did extend over the most important part, the lower Yangtze Valley.

⁸ Although all important offices of the government were set up in Nanking, the foreign legation still remained in Peking. While a good many reasons for failure to follow the government were advanced, the real one appears to be that the diplomats were very comfortably housed in Peking and postponed for as long as possible removal to the discomforts of Nanking. Another reason, of course, was that by remaining in Peking, which was soon renamed Peiping, they could keep an eye on the Japanese plotters.

Chapter VII

ERA OF CONSTRUCTION

IN 1921, just ten years after the republican revolution, China had less than one thousand miles of highways over which a motorcar could be driven. The hundreds of thousands of miles of footpaths and mountain trails were just as they had been for centuries, legacies of the ancient past. With the exception of the heavy "Peking carts" of the north, the only wheeled transportation China had known was provided by the wheelbarrow. The most ambitious piece of road construction in the whole country was a Yankee enterprise. The American Red Cross had allocated a large amount of money for a famine relief project in North China and the American missionary who administered the funds employed the famine sufferers in road work. The best roads—in fact, the only good roads in the country—were around Tsingtao, where they had been built by the Germans, during the little more than a decade they had occupied the place. They led from the center of the port to summer resorts and private residences of wealthy Germans in the hills, affording no benefits to the Chinese people. The war lords hadn't built any military roads and had been content to march their soldiers over mountain trails where river or canal transportation was not available.

With the establishment of the National Government, which liquidated most of the war lords, there was a sudden interest in road building, especially in the Yang-

tze Valley. This may have been partly accounted for by the fact that the streets of Shanghai and other large cities were beginning to be filled with motorcars, that many provincial visitors found that their wealthy city cousins owned one of these luxurious foreign conveniences.¹ A change in the character of provincial officials made road building possible.

For the first time Chinese people were enjoying some of the benefits they had hoped the revolution would bring. The officials of the Manchu government had always stolen all of the taxes. The war lords had either stolen it or spent it on troops, which was worse. In either event, nothing had been spent on public works. Officials of this new government were different. Possibly some of them were not entirely honest, but they did not all steal. In 1931, there were more than fifty thousand miles of roads, all of them having been built by individual provinces to serve provincial needs. Few of them crossed provincial boundary lines. A new China was emerging but the old provincial jealousies were still working to prevent the complete unity of the country.

This new problem led the government to organize the National Economic Council and although it was primarily concerned with roads it soon took on other duties and was soon given very broad powers and re-

¹ For some reason which I do not understand, the automobile became a kind of symbol of new China. I spent the China New Year holiday of 1912 in Hangchow, where the Manchu garrison had been defeated only a few months before by young Lieutenant Chiang Kai-shek. The slum-like quarters of the Manchu garrison had been completely demolished, leaving an area of a square mile or more, laid out with broad streets. A Chinese resident of Hangchow told me the unusually broad streets were designed for motorcar traffic. When I remarked that there wasn't a single motorcar in the city he said: "Well, you wouldn't expect us to buy cars before we had streets broad enough to run them on, would you?" As a matter of fact it was not until about twenty years later that the first car appeared in Hangchow. In the meantime many miles of roads had been built around this beautiful lake city.

sponsibilities. As finally organized in 1931, it was entrusted with the planning and promotion of public roads, hydraulic engineering, public health, education, and rural reconstruction. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek served as chairman of the council and his able brother-in-law, T. V. Soong, was very active in it.

Soon there was a new element in the government. The activities of the council overshadowed everything else and the offices in Nanking were soon crowded with Chinese engineers, many of them graduates of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. For many of them, this was the first opportunity they had had to make a satisfactory use of their talents. They were full of suggestions. Each of them had in mind some improvement he wanted to make. Some graduates of engineering schools had for years been dreaming of plans to build a bridge, straighten a river or dredge a canal—all enterprises which were needed and which would add to the prosperity of the country. The talents of these young men were wasted before this for there was no government which would or could go ahead with public works. This was changed with the establishment of the National Government and the unleashed energies of these young Chinese were soon felt throughout the country. Before this when any important work of this sort was undertaken it was almost invariably as the result of promotion work by some foreign interest. Railways had been built, conservancy work carried out by foreign engineers and contractors, financed by foreign loans floated by foreign banks. The new National Government showed that dependence on foreigners was not necessary. While some foreign engineers were employed in an advisory capacity the work was done by Chinese engineers and paid for by Chinese money.

The first thing the council undertook was to make a

survey of the work it had to do and the problems involved. This was a monumental task in itself for China was without reliable statistics of any kind. For example, one of the important problems of the council was that of flood control. The importance of this problem was emphasized the year the council began work for the Yangtze floodwaters were the highest in the memory of living man, completely inundating the important city of Hankow and destroying tens of thousands of farm-houses. Two years later, in 1933, there was an equally disastrous flood of the Yellow River. Data as to rainfall is essential in the solution of any flood problem but there was no information of that sort available. The council had to start from scratch, but it started with the most expert advice available. The League of Nations loaned to the Chinese government a large staff of experts, capable of advising on all kinds of problems, ranging from the building of hydroelectric plants to improving the breeds of silkworms. Under the direction of these experts representatives of the council traveled all over China making the most complete factual survey of the country that had ever been made. The published reports ran to many thousands of pages.

One of the first constructive tasks the council accomplished was to lay out a complete system of roads for the whole country, co-ordinating the roads with rivers, canals and railways, either in existence or projected. Provinces were encouraged to build their sections of the national road system by offers of free technical assistance and loans from the central government. The greatest road building activity was in the Shanghai trade area but with each year the highways were pushed farther inland.² It gave a thrill to Shanghailanders to be

² About the time the road building began I started a small monthly travel magazine, *China Highways*, which was the official organ of the Automobile Club of China. In every issue of the publication were

able to drive to Hangchow or Soochow, but we had barely become acquainted with these routes when they were extended and we could drive to Nanking and even to the marvelously beautiful Yellow Mountains in Anhui Province. Before road building in the coastal and southern provinces was halted by the Japanese attack in 1937, it was possible to drive from Shanghai to Canton or Chungking. The big oil companies began issuing road maps similar to those given away at filling stations in the United States. But the building of roads kept ahead of the map makers and the maps were always out of date.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the stimulating effect the building of roads had on the lives of the people. Bus lines were organized and put into operation as fast as new sections of roads were opened. The busses were not the sleek streamlined affairs that are so common in America. Most of them were built on the chassis of passenger cars and travel was not comfortable by even the most uncomfortable American standards. But the Chinese love of traveling is so great that they ignore its discomforts, and the busses were always packed. The isolation of hundreds of towns and villages disappeared. There were many remote villages where the people would not see a dozen unfamiliar faces a month. The busses going through them several times a day, the trucks and the private passenger cars brought the world to these people, made them personally conscious for the first time in their lives of the existence of other Chinese who lived in different parts of the country. Many villages in the same county might just as well have been located in different provinces so far as any communication between them was concerned. The bus lines

descriptions of new highways being opened and new spots of scenic or historical interest which could be reached by motorcar.

brought them within a few minutes of each other.³ By 1937, China had more than one hundred thousand miles of motorcar highways. For a country the size of China that is not very much. But no other country of large size is so well served with waterways. And as a measure of progress the mileage was spectacular. In less than twenty years it had increased a hundred times.

The water conservancy problems faced by the Economic Council were monumental in size and of vast importance. In no other country is the economic condition of the people so closely connected with the waterways as in China. Until a very short time ago practically all the transportation was provided by water. A constant supply of water is also necessary for the growing of rice, the principal crop south of the Yangtze. There are more boats in China than in all the rest of the world. Scarcely a year passes that floods do not devastate some part of the country. They are not, however, an unmixed curse for the subsiding floods leave on the ground a deposit of fertile silt which fertilizes the soil and insures good crops following a flood season. There are also many areas where the farmers depend on irrigation and many other areas where irrigation would bring now useless land under cultivation.

Ancient China had performed some wonders in hydraulic engineering. Considering the period in which the work was accomplished, the construction of the Grand Canal was a feat more remarkable than the Panama Canal. The great irrigation works on the Szechuen Plain could be compared favorably with the Boulder Dam project. But during the nearly three centuries of Manchu rule, nothing had been done. Not only had no

³ Chinese farmers put passing motorcars to a novel use. When they cut the hemp crop they would lay the stalks across the roadway and the cars traveling back and forth would scutch the hemp, saving a great deal of labor.

new projects been undertaken but there had been little attempt to maintain old ones. The Grand Canal had silted up and navigation on many of the rivers had become more difficult because of the shifting of currents during floods which had been accepted as acts of God, something beyond the control of man.

The council, under the guidance of the League of Nations, listened to suggestions which came from almost all of the provinces. It also collected reliable statistics on rainfall and on the dates when the melting snows of the Tibetan mountains start the floodwaters down the Yangtze. The survey provided scientific confirmation of facts that everyone knew; that hundreds of miles of navigable water could be added to the rivers; that the courses of many crooked rivers could be straightened; that while floods could not be completely controlled the losses they caused could be cut to a minimum. A preliminary survey showed why the floods of the Yangtze had for years been increasing in intensity. The Tungting Lake had originally provided a natural storage for surplus floodwaters but for years farmers living on the edge of the lake had been reclaiming land by building small dikes and filling in land along the shallow shores. The individual encroachments were very small, but in the aggregate they amounted to a great deal and the lake was steadily decreasing in size, thus providing less storage space for floodwaters.

Although members of the council were well aware of the plan Japan was making to seize North China they went ahead with their work as if no danger threatened. In fact, some of the most important and costly projects, running into millions of dollars, had to do with the improvement of the Grand Canal, of more benefit to North China, where the Japanese were steadily encroaching, than to any other part of the country. Work

on a series of ship locks was completed after two years of work, making the ancient waterway navigable for boats of nine hundred tons all the year round. The Yellow River was also linked to the Grand Canal making it possible for boats drawing a foot and a half of water to ply between Tientsin and Tsinanfu. More than two hundred and fifty land reclamation projects have been completed, bringing into production 235,000 acres of what was formerly wasteland. As farms in China are of very small size, this brought increased prosperity to a much larger number of farmers than the figures would indicate to the American reader.

Some of these irrigation projects brought benefits out of all proportion to the costs involved. For example, there was a very fertile area in Shansi Province where the principal crops of cotton and wheat were frequently threatened and sometimes destroyed by the irregularity of the rainfall. It will be recalled that some of the worst famines in the history of China have been suffered in Shansi. A small river in the area provided a steady flow of water all the year round. A dam was built across the river, two canals dug, and a number of gates and locks constructed to control the distribution of the water. This brought about one hundred thousand mow (a mow is about one-sixth of an acre) of fertile land under irrigation. It was estimated that the average annual yield of farms which are irrigated is worth twenty dollars more per mow than those which are not, so that this one project brought to the farmers benefited an annual increase of two million dollars. Yet this simple irrigation project cost only \$160,000 and paid for itself in one month's operation.

While this was not a typical example of the benefits derived, it does illustrate the way in which the central government was bringing increased prosperity to the

people in all parts of the country. All the irrigation projects were highly successful, increasing the value of farm products to figures out of all proportion to the cost. It is not surprising that the reports made by the National Economic Council reflected considerable enthusiasm and a justifiable pride in accomplishment. And the work must have been inspired by both faith and enthusiasm for without stimulus of this sort so much could not have been accomplished in such a short length of time. The story of achievement is all the more remarkable because it is really the story of the efforts of an awakened people rather than of the superhuman efforts of a small group of men.

It is interesting in this connection to make a comparison with Japan. Everyone is familiar with the very rapid progress made by Japan after that country was opened to foreign influence. This progress was all inspired from above in the name of the emperor. Prefectural governors were told what to do and did it. I do not believe that at any period of her history Japan made as much progress as China did in the period following the loss of Manchuria and the beginning of Japan's undeclared war. The National Government is naturally and justly given credit for this accomplishment, but the government could not have done what it did without the wholehearted support of the people. During that period almost one hundred thousand miles of modern highways were built but the central government built none. They were all provincial enterprises in which the government helped by providing loans and technical assistance. In fact, a great many roads had been built by the provinces before the National Government had formulated any road building program.

The list of the more important public works undertaken by the government would fill several pages of

this book. One of the most difficult and most important was the completion of the Canton-Hankow railway. This line had been projected, and a section at either end completed before the revolution, by means of foreign loans and the employment of foreign engineers. Then work was halted and although there was frequent discussion of plans to resume work on the road nothing was done for more than twenty years. Foreign engineers gave various estimates of from five to ten years as the time that would be required to complete the job. It was of vital importance to the National Government that the road be completed at the earliest possible moment. It was necessary in order to bring Canton and other southern regions into closer contact with the capital at Nanking and thus help toward the unification of the country. And, as in all other plans made at this time, the Chinese authorities had in mind the inevitable conflict with Japan. If a Japanese fleet should blockade the ports of North China a rail line connecting Canton and Hankow would be of great value in providing a means whereby munitions could be shipped north.⁴ Orders were issued to complete the road and do the job just as quickly as possible. Doubtless foreign engineers would have refused to approve much of the work done. Secondhand materials were used, for in many cases nothing better was to be had. Rails were laid on embankments which the Chinese engineers knew would have to be repaired after every heavy rain. Bridges were built of wood when steel was not available. As a piece of construction it was reminiscent of Opie Reid's *Slow Train Through Arkansas*. But trains could be pulled over it and it was completed in about two years, less than half

⁴ In view of later developments it is interesting to note that at this time, about 1932, neither foreigners nor Chinese thought that the Japanese would dare to attack Canton because of the great British commercial interests in South China.

the minimum time the foreign engineers said would be required.

In spite of the many huge tasks it had undertaken the government found time to devote some attention to a revival of China's export trade. China had formerly led the world in the export of tea and silk, but had lost most of this business to Japan, largely because of defective grading by Chinese producers. In order to regain this important trade the government approached the problem from two angles. It encouraged the organization of agricultural co-operatives through which the farmers would be able to pool their credits and work together to maintain standards. The other part of the program was the establishment of government-owned corporations which would have a monopoly on the export of important Chinese products. The China National Tea Corporation was one of several monopolies set up; others had to do with wood oil, bristles, and so forth. While the principal function of the tea corporation was to see that only tea conforming to standard grades was exported, it did quite a little promotion work. Although the most important tea districts of China are in occupied territory the tea corporation is still active, occasionally advertising the arrival of cargoes of China tea in New York.

While the government devoted its first attention to public works that would add to the prosperity of the country and strengthen it against Japanese aggression, education was not neglected. Up to this time the initiative in providing a Western education for Chinese had been taken by foreign mission bodies. American missions had established and maintained a number of universities in all parts of the country. Canadian missionaries devoted a great deal of attention to education in the distant province of Szechuen. Most of the hospitals

provided for Chinese sufferers were also missionary enterprises. The most ambitious educational enterprise in the country was the Peking Union Medical College, a project of the Rockefeller Foundation. A very large proportion of the officials of the National Government of China are graduates of American universities or American mission schools.

Chinese now began building schools and hospitals with the same feverish energy they were showing in the construction of highways and wharves and the conservation of waterways. Some were built by private organizations and some by government funds but they began springing up in all parts of the country, though principally in the Yangtze Valley. The government inaugurated the first national program for primary education and soon we were to see the unusual sight of neatly dressed Chinese youngsters trudging through the streets to school. As a nation of scholars, China had always had schools but never a school system. Well-to-do parents employed teachers for their children. Those who were less well-to-do contributed jointly to the support of a teacher. Some teaching was done by monks in Buddhist temples. But millions of Chinese lived and died without ever seeing the inside of a schoolroom and illiteracy was estimated at ninety per cent. It was the avowed object of the National Government to provide a primary education for every child in China and to put an end to the disgrace of illiteracy. The government also inaugurated a system of adult education.⁵

Two novel enterprises sponsored by the government were the Sun Yat-sen mausoleum in Nanking and the municipal center in Shanghai. The mausoleum which

⁵ According to the Minister of Education, in 1943 there were more than twenty-three million children having one to four years of schooling. This represented about 70 per cent of the total number of children of school age.

has been called "one of the greatest architectural achievements of modern times" is a gigantic structure covering the southern slope of Purple Mountain, scene of a decisive battle in the 1911 revolution. Designed by a young Chinese architect who died before it was completed, the mausoleum cost about two million dollars and was under construction for more than five years. The great Chinese patriot was buried there with impressive ceremonies in 1929. Up to the time of the Japanese occupation of Nanking the tomb was the objective of countless pilgrimages by foreigners as well as Chinese. Distinguished visitors laid wreaths on the tomb just as they lay wreaths on the tomb of Washington. The object in building this great mausoleum was partly political in the highest sense. On his death Sun became the patron saint of the Kuomintang party and by honoring his memory in this striking fashion the members of the party hoped to add to the unity of the country. The idea may have been copied from the Communists who honored the memory of Lenin in a similar manner.

The Shanghai Civic Center was an ambitious municipal enterprise designed to show to the world that China had entered on a new era of progress. On a site between the International Settlement of Shanghai and the port of Woosung a large tract of land was purchased and an imposing group of municipal buildings were erected. Around the central administration building were grouped a museum, a library, an athletic stadium and an airport. As a part of the same project the finest wharves in China were built on the Whangpoo River which marked one of the boundaries of the special municipal area. The buildings were all of the most modern construction but the style of architecture was Chinese. It was the show place of Shanghai as the Chinese had

intended it to be. It was completely destroyed by the Japanese in August of 1937.

The plans worked out by the council for the financial relief of farmers is typical of the methods followed by the Chinese government and may point out the way it will function in the future. The Chinese farmer who owns his own farm has for centuries been under the heels of the moneylenders.⁶ He frequently needs small loans at the planting season to purchase seed or possibly employ help. In the old days the only person to whom he could turn for loans was to the village moneylender who usually charged him two or three per cent a month. The notes were invariably dated to fall due at the harvest season when all farm produce sold at the lowest prices. The result was that many farmers were unable to lift the load of debt from their shoulders and lost their land. It was conditions like this that made possible the establishment of a Soviet government in Kiangsi Province and provided a fertile field for sowing the seeds of Communism.

The council's proposed solution for this problem was the establishment of a small agricultural bank in each of the two thousand *hsiens*, or counties, in China. Each bank was to have a capital of from sixty to one hundred thousand dollars of which eighty per cent would be provided by the National Government and twenty per cent locally. But the plan was for the local people or the local government to take over the government shares after the banks had been established as going concerns so that eventually each bank would be a local enterprise. In the meantime the provisions of the charter under which the banks were authorized to operate

⁶ According to statistics which are incomplete and possibly inaccurate, only about one-third of the farmers are completely independent. The others are tenants of one sort or another, usually share-croppers.

would hold them to the original purpose of making loans to farmers at reasonable rates of interest.

Only a few of these banks had been established in the Yangtze Valley before the war started. But as soon as the government was set up in Chungking a number were established in different parts of Free China. The government is following the same system in education and public health work; in fact, in all activities. Uniform national programs are laid down and the provinces are encouraged to follow them. The encouragement may take the same tangible form as the offer of loans or technical assistance. These may be helpful but experience has shown that this is not essential. For example, in the matter of education, the cost of establishing and maintaining new schools has been borne entirely by provinces or *hsiens*. A single statistical sentence will illustrate what progress has been made. In 1912, there were only 481 students in Chinese universities, colleges and technical schools. Twenty years later they numbered 46,258 and were increasing rapidly until Japan began the systematic destruction of all schools.

Most of the public works that were undertaken in the early years of the National Government were in the nature of emergency measures. During the time these were being carried out the Ministry of Economic Affairs aided by groups of enthusiastic experts worked out a comprehensive five-year plan for the economic development of China. Most of the work was done by Chinese graduates of American schools. In fact, I have been told that this plan was very largely the work of graduates of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The plan was to go into effect in 1937. Japan's undeclared war, of course, wrecked the plan but not in its entirety. A great deal of attention had been paid to the develop-

ment of backward western China, now commonly known as Free China. The result was that when the National Government was set up in Chungking it did not have to work on hastily prepared plans. The officials had a blueprint which had been drawn up after the most careful study. The result was that while the development program for occupied China had to be abandoned, that for Free China was accelerated.

Chapter VIII

WHAT IS THE KUOMINTANG?

ANY consideration of any phase of life in modern China leads back to Sun Yat-sen. He has been dead for twenty years and Japanese soldiers are garrisoned in the shadow of his magnificent tomb, but his influence in China today is more potent than that of any living man. The Kuomintang party, which he organized, is very much alive and its principal purpose is to carry to completion the program of its founder who has become its patron saint. The party endorses, without curtailment or amendment, all of Dr. Sun's political teachings, all of his plans for the economic development of country, for agrarian reforms, indeed for the solution of all her many and complicated problems. Sun is not only the father of the republic but its prophet. The Kuomintang derives its authority from him rather than from the people of China. In his last will he entrusted to the party the responsibility for carrying out his program—a task which he had attempted with very little success.

The Kuomintang is the successor of a number of societies or parties which Dr. Sun organized during his long career as a revolutionary leader. The first came into existence in the Portuguese colony of Macao about fifty years ago and consisted of about a dozen members, all young hotheads like Sun himself. It was called the "Regenerate China Society." It was an antdynastic organization and, although its manifestoes were couched in carefully chosen words, its real object was the over-

throw of the Manchus. That was what the members meant by the "regeneration of China." In spite of their caution, their plot was discovered by Manchu spies and some of the members lost their heads.

As Dr. Sun enlarged his activities and stirred up anti-dynastic movements in Chinese communities all over the world, he organized other local societies which he finally federated under the name of China Brotherhood Society. This society, like its predecessor, was revolutionary rather than political, though Dr. Sun was slowly working out his "Three Principles" which later became a definite and constructive political policy. These organizations were necessarily secret for the arm of Manchu authority was long and its vengeance much to be feared. After the abdication of the Manchus, Dr. Sun organized the China Revolutionary party composed of the members of the older societies and many new adherents who had taken part in the revolution. The object of this organization was to keep alive the revolutionary spirit which had begun to lose its vigor when the end of Manchu rule failed to bring any of the blessings the people had hoped for. In spite of its name, it was still a society rather than a party.

The next development came while the Versailles Peace Conference was still in session. China had entered the war on the side of the Allies and, although her contribution toward the defeat of the central powers was very small, Dr. Sun and other Chinese leaders had high hopes. They had made very liberal interpretations of President Wilson's fine words and especially of his electrifying phrase "self-determination." Every thinking Chinese knew that if the Chinese people were allowed to determine their own destiny they would regain their own sovereignty. This would mean the abolition of the unequal treaties and the surrender of the many settle-

ments, concessions and special administrative areas which were governed either wholly or in part by foreign powers.

Dr. Sun, always an irrepressible optimist, believed that the Versailles Conference would adjust China's grievances and that her sovereignty would be restored. His new party, which again absorbed the old ones, was called the Kuomintang, or People's party. It was a constructive rather than a revolutionary body, organized with the purpose of taking over the government of the country. Its membership was much larger than any of the earlier organizations and included many men who had not taken an active part in the revolution but who adhered to the political ideas of Dr. Sun.

It fell to my lot to play a small part in encouraging the Chinese to believe that the principles so clearly and confidently announced by President Wilson would be implemented to liberate them from the unequal treaties. Shortly after we entered the war, I was appointed the Far Eastern representative of the Committee on Public Information, the predecessor of the present Office of War Information. I worked directly under the orders of Dr. Paul F. Reinsch, the American Minister to China, and shuttled back and forth between my office in Shanghai and the Legation in Peking to attend conferences and to receive instructions. My work was very simple and easy for President Wilson's speeches and statements provided ideal propaganda material.

We gave them the widest possible publicity. They were cabled to my Shanghai office in full and we re-cabled them to all important points in the Far East. After the President had presented his famous Fourteen Points, Dr. Reinsch said he thought it would be a good idea to collect all the war speeches, have them translated into Chinese and published in book form. I had

the translation work done by a famous Chinese scholar and then arranged with the Commercial Press, the leading publishers of China, to bring out the book. From the day of its publication it was a sensational best seller and ran into many editions.

I wrote a foreword for the book and, at the suggestion of Chinese members of my staff, included a phrase saying that I would be glad to receive any comments from readers. We thought we might get a few hundred replies which would give us a cross section of Chinese opinion. Unfortunately, thousands of Chinese came to the conclusion that I was the ear through which President Wilson could be reached, and letters began to dribble and then to pour in. The first letters were carefully translated. They came from every province and from all kinds of men, Buddhist abbots, retired officials, followers of Sun Yat-sen, students, and many from Chinese scholars of the old school. The calligraphy in most of them was perfect, showing that they came from Chinese steeped in the old traditions. But they all breathed an air of confidence in the future, a faith in the idea that President Wilson's words would prevail and that China, as well as all other oppressed nations, would be liberated.

In a few weeks the letters were coming in by the hundreds and my small staff of translators was swamped. All we could do was to open the letters and see if they contained any money, for a great many people ordered extra copies, sending their orders to me instead of the publishers. I recall that General Feng Yu-hsiung, the "Christian general," bought five hundred copies, one for each officer in his army. The letters we eventually received numbered more than ten thousand.

It was in this spirit of hope and confidence that the Kuomintang was organized. But China realized nothing

at Versailles. Her grievances were not even discussed. Japan was confirmed in her ownership of the former German possessions in China and given a mandate over islands in the Pacific which she later fortified in preparation for the war against us. The Chinese did not know that the cards had been stacked against them. As a price for her support of the Allies, Japan had compelled Great Britain, France and Italy to make a secret deal whereby the three powers pledged themselves to support Japanese demands at the peace table. Once again China's position appeared to be hopeless. Had it not been for the inflexible determination of Sun Yat-sen, and the fact that his life was spared for a few more years, the Kuomintang would probably have disintegrated. But he kept it alive and by the time of his death, the party members were thoroughly indoctrinated with his ideas.

As has been described in an earlier chapter, the party brought about the downfall of the war lords, unified the country and set up an efficient government. Yet the world learned little about the party. The foreign press, as represented by the newspapers published in Shanghai and the correspondents stationed there, was never very kind to the Kuomintang party, and for reasons which are easily explained. The party had risen to power and had gained a great military victory on a wave of anti-foreign feeling that made foreigners wonder what was going to happen to them. One of the avowed objects of the party was to do away with the unequal treaties, place all foreigners under the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts, and make them subject to Chinese laws. The mere thought of that sent cold shivers up and down the spines of many an Old China Hand. He conjured up mental pictures of himself in a Chinese jail with a lot of odorous and unwashed ricksha coolies. It is amus-

ing to think how many highly respectable old gentlemen anticipated jail sentences for themselves!

Shanghai thrived on special privileges and as the development of a strong central government would mean the end of those privileges, the tendency was to exaggerate every mistake made by the Nanking government and to ignore the progress that was being made. That was the reason the world heard so much about the difficulties facing the government and so little about its successes. The story that some disgruntled general was stirring up a rebellion in Fukien Province was of much greater interest than stories about the building of roads or the abolition of burdensome taxes. The historian of the future who attempts to tell the story of this period by studying contemporary newspaper files will find a great deal about trouble with Communists in Kiangsi Province and other places, about remote provinces which refused to pay taxes to Nanking, and of threatened dissension in the ranks of the Kuomintang itself. He will find little about the many constructive things that were being done. The story of the National Government of China was told by correspondents who lived in Shanghai, correspondents of many nationalities who were either unsympathetic or antagonistic. The Japanese government, anxious to discredit the government of China employed a number of propagandists to spread stories about Chinese dissension and inefficiency. Most of these propagandists were Americans.

The National Government faced difficulties it is impossible to describe. There was the indifference and inertia of the people as a whole. There was the tradition of graft and corruption in official circles which had been inherited from the Manchus. There was the great dearth of trained men who could serve as officials. And finally there was the great tangled mass of foreign treaties

which placed foreigners beyond the Chinese law.⁷ We foreigners not only enjoyed a lot of special rights and privileges which were guaranteed to us by the treaties but had assumed a lot of others to which we were not entitled. The National Government began patiently but persistently to exercise the few legal rights that it did possess over foreigners.

We were, of course, allowed to travel in the interior, either for business or pleasure, but we were supposed to carry our passports with us, also to provide ourselves with some kind of a travel permit issued by the Chinese authorities. This was a regulation designed to protect the foreigners as it enabled the Chinese police to check on their movements, know at all times just where they were. The Manchus had never enforced these regulations. Few of us knew that they existed. We had been accustomed for years to barging about the country wherever we pleased, counting on the color of our skins to take the place of a passport. What an uproar there was when police began insisting, very politely but very persistently, that we show them our passports and our travel permits!

The struggling government which had often been accused of being anti-foreign, went to considerable trouble to secure the sympathy of the cynical Shanghai-lander. Shortly after the government was established a group of about fifty Shanghai newspapermen was invited to spend a day in Nanking to see the new government at work and to listen to a number of officials tell about their plans and their problems. Although I was not in active newspaper work at the time I was invited to accompany the expedition. The high spot of the day

⁷ At this time a few foreigners were subject to Chinese laws. Germany and Austria had lost their extraterritorial rights as a result of the first Great War. The Russian Communists voluntarily surrendered their rights as a friendly gesture toward China.

was a tea party given by the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang. About thirty of us were present. The Generalissimo, who is especially standoffish for a Chinese, does not like functions of this kind and barely observed the amenities of the occasion by a brief greeting. Our spokesman replied for us and we started to turn our attention to the tea, and coffee and sandwiches when the Generalissimo got to his feet again. He was no longer the perfunctory host being painfully polite. He was an impassioned patriot pleading with us, as representatives of the foreign public, for understanding and for help. He told of his plans to unify China and to establish a government that would be both strong and modern. The government had been established and there was no immediate danger that it would be overthrown. There were many problems to be solved—many difficult problems. They had made mistakes and would make more of them. All he asked of us was faith in the sincerity of the efforts the government was making. He was not bitter about the Shanghai newspapers but pointed out that most of the criticism of the government was unjust and that it was destroying (or delaying) national unity.

Newspapermen of a half dozen or more nationalities listened to a half-hour talk and I feel sure that all of them were deeply impressed as I was. But we couldn't convince our die-hard Shanghai neighbors that anything good could come out of the Kuomintang. Those of us who talked too much about it were referred to as being "pro-Chinese," a term which was not complimentary.

All of the officials of the Chinese government are members of the Kuomintang and all decisions as to government policy are made by the party. In fact the party has made itself the custodian of the sovereignty of

the country, in accordance with the plan of Sun Yat-sen. With bitter realization of the political inexperience of the Chinese people he felt that they needed what he called "a period of tutelage" before they were called upon to assume the full responsibility of sovereignty.⁸ During this period the country was to be governed by the Kuomintang, the only political party in existence. No other method of introducing self-government to China was possible. There was no machinery for holding popular elections and to have attempted at this time to place the sovereignty of the country in the hands of the people would have resulted only in chaos and return to civil wars. The recently defeated war lords would have seen a new opportunity to return to power. The Kuomintang was the only representative body in China, though composed of a very small percentage of the total population.

The Kuomintang exercised the sovereignty of the country by right of military power as well as by authority from Sun Yat-sen. The army led by Chiang Kai-shek which defeated the war lords and made it possible to set up a unified government in Nanking was a Kuomintang army, fighting in support of the political principles of Sun Yat-sen, principles which were later incorporated in the draft constitution. But the victory was unlike that of other armies which have made it possible to set up new governments. The Kuomintang army did not overthrow an old government in order to set up a new one. There was no government of China in any proper sense, only a succession of war lords who temporarily held physical possession of the capital of the country.

⁸ A great many Americans do not realize that we also went through a "period of tutelage" though we never called it that. It never occurred to the writers of our Constitution that the people would have intelligence enough to select a President of the United States or to elect members of the Senate. The sovereignty of the people was a gradual growth just as was planned in China.

For this reason Sun Yat-sen's "Three People's Principles" have acquired in the eyes of the Kuomintang a sanctity not associated with the usual political document. A spokesman for the party⁹ recently explained it as follows:

The Draft Constitution of 1936 was based upon the fundamentals of the "Three People's Principles," upon our historical background and upon the experiences acquired in our Revolution. Without them there would have been no National Revolution and without them the Chinese Republic would not have been born. For this reason the first article of the Draft Constitution provides that the Chinese Republic is to be a democratic nation based upon the "Three People's Principles"—to be a government of the people by the people and for the people. This provision is unalterable and will be forever defended by the Kuomintang.

The Kuomintang is not a political party like the Republican or the Democratic party. It has a greater resemblance to an American fraternal organization such as the Masons. It places great importance on ceremonial observance and what might be called the moral as well as the political indoctrination of its members. Every Monday morning, in every office of the National Government, a memorial service is held, in honor of the memory of Sun Yat-sen, presided over by the highest ranking member of the Kuomintang. The assembly bows three times to the portrait of Sun Yat-sen and the proceedings are opened by a reading of his will. Then there are speeches. In Chungking this weekly meeting is, of course, presided over by Generalissimo Chiang. He is never too busy to attend. Then he talks, talks lengthily.

⁹ Liang Han-tsao, Minister of Information of the National Government.

It is only at rare intervals that the President of the United States makes a report to Congress on the state of the nation. The Generalissimo reports once a week.

The party also has a creed which they call a dicta. It reads as follows:

- (1) Loyalty and courage are the basis of patriotism.
- (2) Filial devotion is the basis of family discipline.
- (3) Goodwill and kindness are the basis of harmony among fellow beings.
- (4) Faithfulness and uprightness are the basis for a useful career.
- (5) Peaceableness is the basis of smoothness in men's social relationship.
- (6) Courtesy is the basis of proper administration.
- (7) Obedience is the basis of a high sense of responsibility.
- (8) Diligence and thrift are the basis of efficient service.
- (9) Orderliness and cleanliness are the basis of sound health.
- (10) Helpfulness is the basis of happiness.
- (11) Knowledge is the basis of usefulness to mankind.
- (12) Perseverance is the basis of achievement.

People do not belong to the Kuomintang party in the sense that one may belong to the Democratic or Republican party in the United States. Members must apply for admission, accept the platform of the party, agree to its regulations and submit to its discipline. There are six rules to be followed: (1) obedience to the regulations and principles of the party, (2) freedom of discussion but complete obedience after a matter has been decided by party vote (3) observance of party

secrets (4) no attacks on party members or party organs before outsiders (5) no membership in any other party (6) no organization of cliques or factions inside the party. Members who disobey any of these rules may be reprimanded, suspended or expelled.

The Kuomintang which now holds supreme power in China has made complete preparations for the surrender of that power. It would be more correct to say that these plans were formulated by Sun Yat-sen and that the party is carrying them out. The program includes a nationwide study of the draft constitution, "with the aim of bringing out public opinion which would be useful in shaping the final form of the constitution so that our lasting peace and security would be safeguarded." This study has been promoted so zealously that educated Chinese are probably more familiar with the terms of their own constitution (which has not yet been adopted) than we are with ours which was adopted a century and a half ago. As to the terms of the constitution and Kuomintang plans for the surrender of the party powers, I can not do better than quote from the spokesman mentioned above:

. . . The Five-Power Constitution follows Dr. Sun Yat-sen's theory of a division between sovereignty and ability, by which is meant a division between the fundamental political power and administrative power. Under the Constitution the National Congress represents the nation. It has the political powers of election, recall, initiative and referendum. The President of the Republic and the presidents and members of the Legislative and Control Yuan are to be elected by Congress. The presidents of the Executive, Judicial and Examination Yuan are to be appointed by the President of the Republic. The five governing powers are thus to

be separately administered. We are attempting to reach a fully democratic system which is not exactly the same as the Western parliamentary system. This system is to us the ideal form of Constitution which we have been and are still working to attain. We have not reached this ideal at present and we consider our existing form of government as a preliminary experiment under Dr. Sun's theory. Our government at present is an emergency government dictated by wartime conditions. The theory of the division between sovereignty and ability is firmly believed in by the Kuomintang as the most logical form of government and it is unchangeable.

All Chinese citizens, including the members of all parties, are absolutely free to discuss and express their opinions upon various problems concerning the Constitution. The opinion of the nation would be a valuable contribution but should be in no way contrary to the fundamental doctrine that we are building a nation based on the "Three People's Principles" and the division of sovereignty and ability, nor would the Government tolerate any subversive activities detrimental to our war effort under the guise of such discussions.

The realization of constitutional government is the essential task of the Kuomintang in the consummation of its mission of National Revolution and Reconstruction. The Constitution is to be put into effect as soon as the obstacles in the way of our Revolution have been removed. The movement for promoting the realization of constitutional government has been launched in accordance with our revolutionary policy. It would be a grave mistake to assume that this movement came into existence in answer to an appeal from the people for a Constitution which was being denied them, as in

such cases as that of the Ching (Manchu) dynasty and various similar episodes in the history of the Western countries.

The power of government is to be handed over to the people immediately when the Constitution is put into effect. All citizens who do not act against our national "Three People's Principles" will be accorded the right of organizing according to law political parties which are to have equal status with all other parties including the Kuomintang.

Chapter IX

THE NEW LIFE MOVEMENT

THE Chinese interpreted freedom and independence in many curious ways. In some parts of the country there was a movement to close or even to destroy the old Confucian temples for no better reason than that the ancient sage had been a strong supporter of the monarchial form of government, though, like all other Chinese sages, he upheld the dignity of man. In fact, it is not quite correct to say that he was a supporter of the monarchial form of government for no one had ever attacked it. He was a supporter of law and order. Some Chinese thought the downfall of the Manchus meant the end of law and order. Others decided to become atheists. Pilgrimages to famous Buddhist shrines declined in popularity. Work with the building of temples was suspended. There was a tendency to look on everything that was old as inferior, to blindly approve everything that was new just because it was new. Chinese restaurants began adding foreign dishes to their menus with results that were none too happy. In Shanghai some Chinese men who had never worn a pair of trousers in their lives appeared on the street looking very ridiculous in ill-fitting foreign style suits. Thousands of Chinese discarded the conventional black silk skull-caps and bought cheap felt hats made in Osaka.

Dr. Wu Ting-fang was worried about the effect these changing styles would have on the country's silk industry. He tried his hand at designing clothing which

would be foreign in style but would use Chinese materials. One of his productions was a hexagonal cap of which only one was ever produced. Dr. Wu wore it bravely for a few weeks and then went back to the old round cap. He gave me quite an interview on the subject of reform in Chinese dress which would show new styles but utilize Chinese materials. A few weeks after this I was on a train between Shanghai and Nanking and saw one result of Dr. Wu's propaganda—a fat Chinese gentleman in a cutaway and trousers made of purple brocaded silk. Chinese who had never tasted a morsel of foreign food in their lives patronized the dining rooms of foreign hotels and were as awkward with knife and fork as tourists are with chopsticks.

Chinese girls interpreted freedom as an opportunity to escape from the old conventions which had always hampered Chinese women. With true feminine logic they seized on the opportunity to make themselves more attractive in appearance. They washed the mucilaginous stuff out of their hair, and acquired a strange new charm with braids and bangs. They did new things to their gowns, discovered lipstick and silk stockings. They started a suffragette movement in Shanghai but no one paid much attention to them. Their sisters in Canton were more successful, were allowed to vote and a few of them were elected to the newly formed Provincial Assembly.

Humorous aspects of the period soon passed. Chinese prejudices against what was new and foreign disappeared, but as the elation of victory passed they adopted new ideas more slowly and with discrimination. However, the sanctity of a great many old customs disappeared, and it appeared to many old-fashioned Chinese that the foundations of civilization were gone. In one of his many lectures Dr. Sun told of seeing an ancestral

temple in which the ideograph for "loyalty" had been rubbed off. "This shows," said Dr. Sun, "the thinking of a certain type of people today; because we have a republic we need not talk about loyalty." It is small wonder that the Chinese people as a whole were confused and needed new rules of conduct to enable them to adjust themselves to the new conditions of life. On another occasion Sun said: "China is now in a period of conflict between the old and the new and a large number of our people have nothing to follow." As Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek said, "For hundreds of years the people of China were discouraged from interesting themselves in the affairs of government, and were taught, even with the executioner's sword, that the administration of the country was the exclusive concern of the official class . . . with the result that when the political window opened they were, in a sense, blinded by the light that suddenly and unexpectedly poured in on them. They found themselves . . . bewildered by the lack of universal education, hampered by age-long aloofness and habits of life."

Many of these habits of life were extremely bad, according to any modern standards. Chinese had no ideas of sanitation, either public or private. Most Chinese villages were filthy places, unnecessarily filthy because refuse of all sorts would be thrown into the narrow streets. The Chinese had never been a disciplined people. They were governed by many old customs but these old customs had been rural in origin, had not been adapted either to the physical requirements of urban life or to the advancing standards of modern civilization. A codification of rules for personal conduct was as necessary as the drawing up of a new civil and criminal code if China was going to become the modern nation she aspired to be.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, having defeated the war lords and unified the country under a strong government at Nanking now became an arbiter of the amenities, an interpreter of a modernized form of ancient Chinese ethics and an Emily Post of China.

He launched the New Life movement which was designed to correct both the morals and the manners of the whole population.¹ No more ambitious social program was ever launched in any country and none has ever been more successful. In announcing the New Life movement, the Generalissimo simply urged the people to follow certain simple virtues such as orderliness, cleanliness, diligence and thrift. These broad general principles of personal conduct were soon translated into certain codes which now embrace almost every human activity from marriage ceremonies to house cleaning.

It was the introduction of new marriage ceremonies that did more than anything else to give the movement publicity and set everyone to talking about it. A Chinese marriage is in itself nothing more than a legal contract, even more simple than a justice of the peace wedding in the United States, for anyone may perform the ceremony. But through the inflexible "old custom," which was so important in China, weddings had become very complicated and expensive affairs, with feasts and presents which would keep a poor family in debt for years.²

¹ It is generally believed that Madame Chiang was responsible for initiating this movement. She certainly has devoted a great deal of time to it, and a great deal of its surprising success is due to her. However, the Generalissimo is always named as the head of the movement. There is a story that he started the movement after he saw a small Chinese boy urinating in the presence of Madame Chiang.

² It is interesting to note that similar social customs in some South American countries have led many couples to slip quietly into conjugal relations without the fanfare of a public wedding which their parents could not afford. This was never done in China. Wealthy men often took secondary wives or concubines but any equivalent of what we know as "common law" marriages were unknown, except possibly among beggars.

Leaders of the New Life movement inaugurated a system of mass marriages in which thirty, forty or more couples were married by the village magistrate in the same ceremony.

The first mass marriage ceremony was performed in the new Shanghai Civic Center with hundreds of spectators and a great deal of favorable publicity. The idea was a happy one. While it was designed to promote thrift, it appealed to the Chinese love of the theatrical; in fact, the mass weddings provided an exceptionally fine show. They became a regular routine in Shanghai. Officials would announce the dates on which the ceremonies were to be held and the engaged couples would make their arrangements accordingly. Soon the custom spread to other large cities. At the present time mass marriages are very popular in Chungking. The growth of the custom enabled the leaders of the New Life movement to discourage child marriages. While there were no child marriages in China as in India, marriages of boys at the age of seventeen or eighteen are quite common. At the mass marriage ceremonies there are no bridegrooms under the age of twenty. At the same time the New Life movement put an effective stop to plural marriages simply by bringing them into disrepute.

If it is at all possible to do so, Chinese prefer to accomplish things by indirection, a method that is not without its merits. The New Life movement did not attempt to end old superstitious practices by ridiculing them, but instead offered something new. For example, there is a day each year when "ghost money," paper representations of actual coins, is burned on the graves of the dead. A great deal of real money is frittered away in the observance of the rite. The sponsors of the New Life movement inaugurated the observance of Arbor Day on the day usually set aside for the burning of the

ghost money. A great many of the older people continued to burn ghost money. But an increasing number of the young people observe the day by an excursion into the hills to plant trees.

The thoroughness and the rapidity with which the New Life movement spread from one end of China to the other is one of the marvels of modern China—is perhaps of more importance and significance than the building of the Burma Road or any of the many other physical accomplishments. Its most important rival for first place in the list of accomplishments of modern China is the co-operative movement which is discussed in another chapter. Although the New Life movement was taken up and vigorously promoted by a number of Chinese leaders, both men and women, its success can only partly be attributed to their efforts. Once the movement was under way hundreds if not thousands of individuals started the organization of local associations. The Generalissimo had said that the movement was intended to bring about the social regeneration of China, to do away with practices or customs which were useless or barbaric. The rapid spread of the movement can only be accounted for by the fact that the Chinese people as a whole were not only conscious of the need for social reform but were also able to make a practical application of the code or to make their own interpretation of the broad aims of the movement. The reason for this was that, in spite of its name, there was nothing new in the code of personal conduct on which the movement was founded. The whole code was summed up in four expressive words with which every Chinese, even the illiterate, was familiar. Like most Chinese words which express abstract ideas there are no English words which have the same richness in meaning. They have been translated as meaning: propriety, righteousness,

integrity and "a sense of shame." Madame Chiang has given them various interpretations, one being: etiquette, justice, integrity and conscientiousness. These virtues were as old as China itself, had been extolled by Chinese sages and philosophers throughout the ages. All that was needed was a revival, and their application to modern ways of life. And in many of its aspects the New Life movement did appear like a religious revival which was sweeping the country. But unlike most religious revivals it has survived its first enthusiasm and continues a healthy growth.

The first important manifestation of the movement was the promotion of honesty in public officials. During the Manchu days it had been taken for granted that all the money paid in taxes would be stolen by one official or another. If District Magistrate Wong was less avaricious than his predecessor or less skillful in padding his accounts that would only mean that there would be more money to reach the sticky fingers of the prefect or the taotai. If they were timid or unskillful about their pilfering there would be more to be stolen by the provincial treasurer or governor and so on through the whole list of officials. Nothing for the public benefit was ever built from the regular tax funds. If it was necessary to build a bridge or repair a canal, funds for the purpose were always raised by special taxes of one sort or another, the officials always being careful to collect more than the project cost. Small wonder that the Chinese public was indifferent to thefts of public funds.

The building of highways which started about the same time the New Life movement was launched brought to the Chinese generally an entirely new conception of their personal relationship to the taxes they paid. For the first time they saw some benefits coming from taxes, saw that the official who stole public funds

was stealing from the public. That was vastly different from the Manchu period when, in the last analysis, officials stole only from each other. This new conception of the significance of taxes provided the New Life movement with a fertile field. Almost overnight there was a new code set up. Official peculation did not stop completely, but there was this important change—the public was no longer indifferent.

As a matter of fact the officials of the National Government soon earned an enviable reputation for honesty. I shall never forget the time a friend returned to Shanghai from a business trip to Nanking and told a skeptical group in the Shanghai Club about his very remarkable experience. He had gone there for the opening of bids on the construction of a sewage system at one of the new Chinese airports. The bids had been opened, his was the lowest and he had been awarded the contract. The remarkable part about the story was that that was all there was to it. In his bid he had padded the figures a little so that he would be able to take care of a "commission" to some official or group of officials, but no one had asked for anything. He had been so sure that a demand would be made that he had remained in Nanking an extra day to get it over with but no one had come near him. The consensus of opinion among the club wiseacres was that there was a catch in it somewhere and that sooner or later he would have to pay. But he did not. He completed the contract, was paid in full and was asked for nothing. There is a pleasing sequel to this incident, indicating that the New Life movement has a beneficent influence on the morals of foreigners as well as Chinese. My friend was so impressed by the honesty of the transaction that he gave to a Chinese charity the amount he had set aside to pay out as a bribe.

To foreigners living in China the most noticeable accomplishment of the movement was the increased cleanliness of the people and of the villages. Filth of all sorts had been tolerated by the Chinese for centuries but now it became abhorrent to them. Once the cult of cleanliness started it spread naturally but much more rapidly than anyone had any reason to anticipate. In China the Wongs try to keep up with the Chows just as in the United States the Smiths try to keep up with the Browns; and when the Chow household was cleaned up it was inevitable that the neighboring Wongs should follow their example. To those who were familiar with Chinese history, and all literate Chinese are, references to four characters representing the four cardinal virtues brought a flood of historical memories. The ancient rulers in China's fabulous golden age had practiced these virtues, thereby setting an example to the officials who in turn set an example to the people. And so the new social movement bridged the centuries to the golden age of the past and gave officials a sense of responsibility that had been forgotten for four thousand years. In many villages the "headman," or mayor, inaugurated a cleanliness campaign by taking a broom and sweeping the street in front of his office or official residence. Often that was all that was necessary for the whole village to follow his example.

Lectures, banners, slogans and signs carried the message of the New Life movement—especially slogans and signs. The slogans and signs covered almost every conceivable human activity. As Madame Chiang says, the movement laid itself open to "half jocular criticism by issuing an exhaustive list of precepts and prohibitions in which the trivial and the weighty are curiously intermingled." No matter where one went, in villages or cities or along the banks of canals he could not escape

the exhortations of the slogan makers. Be clean! Be honest! Don't spit in the street! Work harder and spend less! Get vaccinated for smallpox! Be truthful! Don't commit suicide! Be dignified! Don't drink! Don't gamble! Be simple! Don't crowd! Brush your teeth! Kill flies! Kill mosquitoes! Don't smoke opium! Don't keep concubines! Don't visit brothels! Buy native goods!

Every leader of the movement wrote slogans and the production was enormous. These were things that everyone could understand. Many Chinese who were genuinely patriotic had very hazy ideas about the privileges and responsibilities of a democracy. But they could see in these simple slogans an opportunity to serve their country, to fall in line with a modern movement which they approved though they did not thoroughly understand it. People who joined the movement were given a small sticker to paste outside their doors and soon they were to be found in practically every home in the Yangtze Valley. In a few places this led to regimentation that some of those who joined the movement had not anticipated. Sanitary inspectors made periodical inspections of houses and would paste outside the door stickers reading "Clean," "Fairly clean," or "Dirty," as the case might be.

Flies which had enjoyed an undisturbed existence in China from the time they were created now found organized enemies in the form of small boys who learned for the first time that a fly is a dangerous beast. They swatted flies with the energy and enthusiasm of ping-pong players. The campaign against flies created a great demand for fly swatters, an article of merchandise that had never before been sold in China. Schools promoted fly extermination contests. Prizes were offered to pupils who on a given date brought in the greatest number of flies which had met violent death at the hands of the

contestant. American missionaries, who supported New Life projects with the greatest enthusiasm, sometimes promoted other fly catching enterprises, offering a flat rate of one Chinese copper for every hundred flies. No matter what form the fly killing campaign took, the dead flies were carefully counted by official tellers at public meetings with the beady-eyed young catchers looking on.

Considering the vast fly population of China, with their amazing facility for reproduction, it is doubtful if campaigns of this sort did very much in the way of reducing the total number of flies. But it did succeed in impressing on millions of young and impressionable Chinese the fact that the modest and inoffensive little fly is a carrier of disease, a fact of which Americans were also comfortably unconscious until a comparatively recent period. On my frequent trips to Soochow I never noted any diminution in the number of flies nor any indication of a defeatist policy in their actions. But I did note that the ripe red slices of watermelon, the white slabs of bean curd and all the other foods which were on display were protected from flies by mosquito net or wire screen covers.

The New Life movement was so important, so fundamental, and has accomplished such great things that I might appear to be belittling it by writing so lengthily about a fly swatting campaign carried out in my favorite city of Soochow. But in earthy China all progress comes from below, is not imposed from above. A campaign to kill flies may be a humble way in which to illustrate the progress of a great cultural reform, but in China it seems the natural thing to do.

The number of individual associations which were organized to support the movement is legion. There are local organizations in every city, town and village and

many occupational organizations. One of the earliest was formed by the train boys on the Lung-hai railway who decided that as their contribution to the movement they would forego receiving tips. However, as their compensation, like that of the Pullman porters, was partly made up from tips, they could not forego all of them. So they compromised and only gave up tips from foreigners!

After ten years of existence the New Life movement has lost none of its momentum. I have never seen any figures as to membership but I feel sure that it has constantly increased. It has also broadened in the scope of its activities and, with the stress and strain of war, has become more austere, even Puritanical. Many of the rules of conduct which were initiated by the movement have now been incorporated into police ordinances. It should be remembered that these rules came from the people and received popular approval before the police ever heard of them.

Chungking is today probably the most moral city in the world. This does not necessarily apply to foreigners. If they want to get flushed faces from drinking the liquor that they may be able to get, or if they want to sit up all night playing poker, that is their business. But if a Chinese should linger too long in the wine shop; or if the police should hear the telltale click of the *mah-jongg* tiles in a Chinese home, some people will be called upon to explain why they are violating the rules of conduct as set down by followers of the New Life movement.

Chapter X

MADAME AND THE GENERALISSIMO

THE day I heard Generalissimo Chiang make his plea for understanding and sympathy was one of the most uncomfortable I have ever experienced. We boarded the train at Shanghai in the deceptively balmy weather that is common in the lower Yangtze Valley in the late winter or early spring. While we slept the god of the weather spent a busy night. We got off the train at seven o'clock in the morning to find that a snowstorm had swept over Nanking, accompanied by a wind from the north that hit us with the impact of a torrent of ice water. Even if the Chinese officials had known that the blizzard was on its way from the Gobi Desert, it wouldn't have made much difference in the arrangements for our entertainment. A heating system is not an essential part of a Chinese house in the lower Yangtze Valley where natives of all classes merely protect themselves from increased cold by putting on additional coats and hiding their hands in the long sleeves. This was indubitably a three-coat day and at breakfast our teeth chattered on the hot porridge as well as on the cold toast. Luncheon was just as bad. While we held our ivory chopsticks in numbed fingers snow blew in through cracks in the wall and formed little drifts on the floor. A Chinese official who sat next to me brought up the ticklish subject of the special rights foreigners enjoy in China and I remember telling him irritably that I would at the moment gladly relinquish my right

just for an opportunity to get into a warm room and see if my feet actually were frozen or just felt that way. I am afraid that most of us were so miserably cold that we were not only impolite but unappreciative of the fact that we were seeing something that no one had ever before seen in recorded history: Chinese government offices which were clean and full of people who were hard at work. The idea that a Chinese official whether of high or low degree should busy himself with anything other than the collection of taxes which he hoped to keep for his own use was new to us and in a steam-heated office it would have been a sensational revelation. We just wondered if there might be some heat in the next place we were to visit.

None of us had dressed for this kind of weather and we talked about the danger of pneumonia and some of us discussed the idea of sneaking out of the round of official entertainment in search of a hotel with a fire. A few did, but others remembered that Chiang Kai-shek was going to entertain us at tea and thought he might make a statement that we wouldn't want to miss. Only the journalistic fear of losing out on a good story drew us there.

There was nothing about the Chiang residence to suggest the old official *yamens* with ornate gates flanked by stone lions and dirty guards lounging about. It was an unpretentious, drab little house surrounded by a snow-covered garden and in place of the dirty guards there were two soldiers in neat uniforms who stood at attention as we entered. When the door opened there was a rush of warm air and in the big room where we were soon seated, was an old-fashioned, potbellied stove of the kind that heated American homes of a generation or so ago.

Madame Chiang greeted us and shook hands with us in American fashion and apologized for the absence of the Generalissimo who was detained at a conference and would soon be with us. It was a new experience to be greeted by the wife of a Chinese official and for an apology to be made because of the fact that he was keeping us waiting. The old style Chinese official would keep you waiting for hours without thinking it necessary to apologize or explain. We didn't mind waiting with the warmth and in Madame Chiang's charming presence we forgot all about the blizzard which was piling the snow in drifts outside. Her personality dominated the crowded room. She had a word for each of us, got all our names right, and though she had met most of us for the first time, she appeared to know all of us.

Some feminine instinct told her that what I wanted most of anything else in the world was a cup of hot coffee—and so did almost everyone else. She had anticipated this and the coffee was ready—the kind you rarely get outside of America. She chatted with my wife about the eternal problem of runs in silk stockings and the difficulties of getting husbands to appreciate the virtues of neatly pressed trousers. She said the Generalissimo usually looked as if he had slept in his uniform which he did when he was on a campaign but not when living at home in Nanking.

Just about this time the Generalissimo came in without the escort that was usually considered necessary to the most casual movements of any high-bracket Chinese official. His trousers would have passed the most critical male examination but I suppose the crease could have been a little sharper. He stood while we were being introduced but instead of shaking hands with himself in Chinese style, gave each of us a stiff little bow. After

the introductions he made a speech that might have come from a phonograph and our spokesman made a neat little reply. Then the Generalissimo made his plea to us. In a roomful of strangers he had found some human contact which made his formal speech inadequate.

I happened to glance at Madame who was sitting near me and saw that her husband's recital of the sorrows of her country had filled her eyes with tears. In that tense moment the thought flashed over me that in those tears I had discovered the bond which had drawn the two together and made them known from one end of China to the other as a couple whose married happiness was the envy of all others. It was not the romantic love of the movies but something bigger. In their great love for their suffering country and their unselfish devotion to the solution of its problems they had found a common bond on so high a plane that all other sentiments might be brushed aside as commonplace and trivial.

When beautiful Mei-ling Soong came back to China after graduating from Wellesley, it was as inevitable that she should marry into the revolutionary Kuomin-tang party of China, as it is that some American girls will marry into the army or the navy or the Social Register. Her eldest sister had married Sun Yat-sen. Her other sister had married H. H. Kung, a direct descendant of the great sage Confucius who, as a successful banker, had been an ardent supporter of his brother-in-law. Kung couldn't remember when he hadn't been a revolutionist. Even before he went to school in America he and other young men had plotted to smuggle themselves into the Forbidden City and kidnap the emperor, who was a puppet in the hands of the old empress dowager. Elder brother T. V. Soong was the outstanding financier of China and out of his personal fortune had

helped to finance the Kuomintang when it was buffeted about by the civil wars which followed in the wake of the revolution.

Mei-ling came back to a new China to which she found it difficult to adjust herself. She had been in America from the time she was a little girl, first in the hands of tutors and preparatory schools and then four years at Wellesley. She had traveled in one direction and her playmates who had remained in China had traveled in another. Chinese girls were no longer hidden in the inner courtyards of the old-fashioned sprawling Chinese houses. They went to movies without their parents, played bridge and mah-jongg, and some of them attended tea dances at the Astor House and the Park Hotel and drank cocktails with their men friends. It was a gay and carefree little society into which she would have fitted as the belle of Shanghai. But all of Mei-ling's family were busy in Chinese politics, that is they were all working for the domination of the Kuomintang as the only force in China that could unify the country and solve its many problems. They occupied about the same position in the life of China that the Adams family had occupied in the life of America during an earlier but similar period.

Mei-ling had lived so long in America that she was a stranger. She didn't know just what she was going to do but she couldn't be idle. She had learned to play the violin at Wellesley and had thought of trying to interest modern China in Western music, but somehow this didn't fit into the China picture as she saw it now with millions of the people threatened with starvation and the young ladies she had played with as a little girl going to tea dances and drinking cocktails. She put her violin away where it is still collecting dust unless it has been smashed by some Japanese air raid.

Thanks to the thrift and business ability of Father Charlie Soong, to the marriage of one of the girls to banker Kung, and above all, to the financial wizardry of the older brother, the Soong family was rich, immensely rich. The family fortune had survived the heavy drains put on it by Sun Yat-sen's many political and military ventures. But restless Mei-ling went to the Y.W.C.A. employment bureau and asked about the prospect of getting a job—anything to escape being drawn into the tea dancing, bridge playing crowd that made up the Chinese younger set. Miss Mason, the American lady who ran the bureau, came to see me with the idea that the well-educated Chinese girl would be an asset to my advertising agency. That was the first time I had ever heard of her, and it was not until she became the most important lady in China that I remembered that I had once thought of offering her a place on my staff. The only reason I didn't was that one of my big clients decided to make a slash in his appropriation. Every time I remember that visit of Miss Mason's I am shocked at the impertinence of my intentions.

The best thing you could say about factory conditions in Shanghai was that they might have been worse. The Municipal Council rather belatedly appointed a Child Labor Commission to inquire into conditions. In all previous reform movements or any other municipal enterprise for that matter, Chinese had been tacitly ignored and it had never occurred to anyone that a Chinese girl would be of value in any public undertaking—had never occurred to anyone but the girl herself. When Mei-ling heard of the commission she decided she would join it. Chinese women and children were the principal sufferers in the factory system and here was an opportunity to do something for them. Only an Old China Hand can understand how utterly preposterous it was

for this slip of a Chinese girl to think of meddling in such important matters as hours of labor, wages and sanitary conditions in factories. But when the *Municipal Gazette* announced the names of the commission it included that of Miss Mei-ling Soong.

The foreigners on the commission treated this pretty Chinese girl very politely but ignored her. That is to say, they tried to, but with no success. To the men this was just another job of work which interfered with bridge or golf or with that delightful half hour at the club bar with old cronies. To Miss Mei-ling Soong this was an opportunity to help thousands of little boys and girls, a work into which she threw all the energy of youth and passionate devotion to a cause which dominated her heart. She not only attended all the meetings but gave all her time to the work. She visited factories whose proprietors did not dare refuse entrance to a daughter of the wealthy Soongs. She spent hours in the nauseating atmosphere of the silk filatures and talked to the little girls who lifted the cocoons from the scalding water with their fingers. She scalded her own fingers to get a measure of the suffering of the children. She looked into latrines and lavatories, counted scant content of calories in the lunch boxes. In a very short time she knew more than anyone else about the conditions of child labor in Shanghai and fitted herself to be the childless mother of all the suffering children of China.

With the report of the Child Labor Commission written, Mei-ling was idle again and took up the study of the Chinese classics which she had neglected while in America. About this time Chiang Kai-shek came to Shanghai to buy a ticket and to arrange for a long trip abroad. His military campaigns had been successful and he had set up the nearest approach to a unified govern-

ment that republican China had ever known. Perhaps if, like other war lords, his only ambition had been to set up a profitable dictatorship for himself he would have been quite content with his accomplishment. There were a lot of war lords who had accomplished less and had millions salted away in foreign banks. But, unlike the others, he had fought for the ideal of a unified China in which war lords would have no place.

In his attempts to replace a military government with a civil administration he ran into difficulties with which he was unprepared to cope. The relaxation of military discipline gave an opportunity for crafty politicians to work, and unleashed provincial and personal jealousies. He could control an army of soldiers but not an army of grafting, lying, thieving politicians. Confessing himself beaten he had resigned and announced that he was going abroad, with no indication that he had any intention of returning.

He got no farther than Japan and soon came back to Shanghai, where he had met Mei-ling. It was not a chance meeting for things don't happen that way even in the new China. Chiang had at one time been Dr. Sun Yat-sen's secretary and the two were intimate friends over a long period of years. Dr. Sun was dead but his widow, Mei-ling's sister, was living in Shanghai. Near her residence was that of T. V. Soong, the elder brother who had helped Chiang finance his military campaigns. Chiang and Bunker Kung had known each other for years. He was, in fact, about as close to the Soong family as it is possible for an outsider to be. And he was, to individual members of the family, the most important man in China. They were all supporters of the political ideals of Sun Yat-sen and here was the one man who could implement them in a unified China. He was more

at home in the Soong clan than anywhere else in Shanghai.

In most Chinese families the hours and dates of birth are set down and horoscopes cast to determine whether or not a contemplated marriage will be propitious. This is done long before the match makers start their delicate negotiations. The horoscopes are considered to be as immutable as fate itself and if they are wrong there is no power on heaven or earth that can set them right. The Soongs were all Christians and such superstitious beliefs had been discarded years before by Methodist Charlie Soong, the founder of the family. But no horoscopes were needed for this couple. Their lives and characters were more revealing than any papers the geomancers might have drawn up with the mystic signs and vague but significant allusion to the influence of the planet.

The man who had unified the most important part of China was broken and discouraged because his success had brought its own penalties and there was no one in whom he could place his complete trust. He had found the loneliness and isolation suffered by those who have gained power over other men. He needed a companion with whom he could share his thoughts, to whom he could talk without fear that his words would rebound on him with interpretations that were far from his intentions. Only with help of this sort could he find himself and complete the task he had set out to accomplish. Here was a girl whose fierce patriotism was fed by a compassion for the sufferings of her fellow countrymen, a girl who could help China assimilate the best to be found in the civilization of the West. With him as a husband she would have ample scope for her boundless energy and ability and be able to do things that

would make her work on the Child Labor Board trivial by comparison. No astrologer could have disclosed a more perfect fitting of the *yin* and the *yang*, the male and the female principle which, when joined together, form the circular symbol which represents perfection.

Only mother Soong found a flaw in it; old mother Soong, who read her Bible daily, had made the children say their prayers when they were youngsters and still hustled them off to church on Sundays. Chiang was a Buddhist. He could quite appropriately have asked for Mei-ling's birth date and sent it to an astrologer for a horoscope, but he didn't. Mother Soong put her foot down and insisted that he renounce his faith and become a Christian. The older daughters and the son argued with the saintly old lady. It was not fair to demand that a man become a Christian when he had but a faint idea of what Christianity was all about. The gentle old lady agreed. In true Chinese fashion the question was settled by a compromise. The Generalissimo promised to read the Bible daily and try to find in its teaching the faith that was held by Mother Soong. It was three years before he made his decision and deeply grieved his Buddhist friends by being baptized a Methodist.

The marriage was solemnized by both Christian and Buddhist rites. In one ceremony he put a ring on her finger and kissed her and in the other they bowed to each other and drank from the same glass of wine. Mr. and Mrs. Chiang set up housekeeping in the house that was so comfortably warm on that very cold day in Nanking. The public which had affectionately called her "Mei-ling" now referred to her respectfully as "Madame," but with equal affection.

It was the first of many houses which she was to occupy in many parts of China for she followed the Gen-

eralissimo in all his journeys. The peace at Nanking was soon shattered by a revolt in Fukien followed by widespread bandit raids. The revolt in Fukien had barely been put down when there was a Communist movement in another province and threats of war in the southwest. And all the time there was the Japanese army plotting, scheming, stirring up trouble and getting ready to destroy. The Generalissimo hurried from one trouble center to another and Madame always traveled with him or followed close behind. Sometimes she was ill and was accompanied by an American nurse but nothing could keep her from what she thought to be the scene of her duty. She always carried a revolver.

The fact that this beautiful, wealthy, gently nurtured woman willingly braved dangers she could so easily have avoided had an effect in China something like that of a wave of religious fervor or a patriotic awakening that has at times swept over countries. Disdain for comfort and safety became a code of conduct. Young men who had been content to read about brave acts or see them presented on the stage now sought to cultivate courage in themselves. Little boys were no longer dressed like beribboned sissies but in overalls like the slacks Madame wore. Women affected to be shocked at a respectable woman traipsing about the country like a common camp follower carrying her sleeping mat over her shoulder. Those who were familiar with Chinese history could point out that in several thousand years women had stayed at home while their husbands followed their duty to distant places and that often they did not share the same bed for years. But after they got over being shocked it occurred to them that men didn't have any monopoly on patriotism and that they might be doing a good many things more useful than sitting at home and wondering whether or not they were widows.

The country had two leaders but they worked together in the perfect unity that is only possible with a couple happily and congenially married. They had separate duties. The Generalissimo planned military campaigns, pushed the building of highways and railways, fought his enemies or compromised with them, striving always to achieve the unity and strength that would enable the country to withstand destruction when Japan attacked. Madame mobilized the women, aroused them from their hereditary lethargy and prepared them for the time when all would be the mothers, wives, or sisters of men fighting to defend them.

Only once did she undertake a man's job and that was when she was put in charge of the reorganization of the Air Defense Force. There were many defects but the most serious one sprang from the fact that some airplane manufacturers had promoted the sale of their planes by generous bribes. When she took charge of the purchasing, the foreign salesmen who had been bribing the officials hastily closed up their affairs and bought tickets home. The Chinese officials who had been accepting bribes did not have this easy escape for they had to remain. Perhaps her feminine instinct helped her to detect the guilty ones. There were none of the long-drawn investigations by which men clumsily arrive at a determination of guilt. A number of the officials were discharged and others placed in positions where they would not be tempted. In a remarkably short time Madame was able to resign and go back to the more congenial work of arousing women to a consciousness of their opportunities and responsibilities and organizing orphanages for the thousands of poor waifs of the war. There were many other responsibilities she assumed as the spiritual mother of China. The work of the Bureau of Aviation had been principally a house-

cleaning job and she had taken care of it like an efficient housewife.

Because she speaks English and is more readily accessible to foreigners; because she is a Wellesley graduate and acts and talks and thinks like an American; because she is a woman of striking beauty and charm; a great many who have read about her or know her casually have come to the conclusion and have expressed the opinion that she is what is usually known as "the brains of the family." (I hate to contemplate what would happen if anyone expressed that opinion in her presence.) This opinion is not shared by anyone who really knows the unique couple and no one would attempt to say just where the activities and the talents of the one fit into those of the other. But, when the unified personality of the two is partially disentangled, it is found that, actually, they are quite different.

Madame's body was born in China but her mind was born in America. Before the historic Cairo conference, the Generalissimo had never been any farther away from China than Japan and Russia. In talking to him through an interpreter I have always suspected that he knew what I was saying, but he makes no pretense to a knowledge of English. His hobby is Chinese poetry, which he has memorized and recites to himself when he has some weighty problems to consider. His mind is purely Chinese.

When the two of them discuss some problem together, the lines of thought they follow are widely separated but in the end the decision is almost invariably the same. If it were not they would have a difficult time composing differences of opinion. It is not for anyone to say which mental process is the superior one. Madame arrives at her decisions quicker but as she is as completely feminine, as only a Chinese woman can

be, she probably did not have to graduate with honors from Wellesley in order to develop that mental process. Madame may have her opinion formed while the Generalissimo is still in the mazes of Chinese logic. He knows that she is right but he thinks it out for himself just the same.

I had tea with Madame and the Generalissimo in Chungking a few years ago at a time when every sunny day brought a raid by Japanese aviators whose most important objective was the death of my hosts. An alarm had sounded but for some reason the planes did not come. In the ten years that had elapsed since I had found their home in Nanking so comfortably warm each had suffered more hardships, troubles and disappointments and braved more dangers than fall to the lot of an average couple in a long lifetime. They had built a nation only to have it devastated by wanton and cruel attacks. But there was no trace of tragedy in their faces, cheerful, smiling, determined.

Mr. and Mrs. Chiang of Chungking are good Methodists and because of their example the work of Christian missions in China has found a new and vigorous life. There are more Christians in China today than ever before. But a century from now they will be enshrined as gods, and millions as yet unborn will burn incense to the memories of the most famous married couple in the long and romantic history of China.

Chapter XI

HOW JAPAN WATCHED AND WAITED

FOR the past half century there has never been any doubt in the minds of informed observers in the Far East as to what Japan's plans were regarding China. These plans occasionally occupied transient public attention when Japan made obviously aggressive moves; and then were forgotten when the Japanese saw that they had gone too far and a liberal government assumed power with much press agency. But the program was never changed. The only question was as to the time-table, how long it would be before Japan thought the time was opportune to carry out her plans. There was nothing new about these plans. They were much older than modern Japan itself, and were hallowed by time in a country which was proud of its ancient traditions.

The plans to conquer China and make it a part of Japan were worked out before the first British colonist landed on the coast of the New World; and at the time the Declaration of Independence was signed had been fermenting in the mind of the Japanese for more than two hundred years. In the latter part of the sixteenth century Hideyoshi, a Hitler of that period (he was a stable boy), had risen to supreme power in Japan and boldly set out to conquer the world, which he thought consisted of Korea, China and the eastern part of India. The audacious enterprise was a failure. The Japanese soldiers never crossed the frontier of China and were brought back to Japan after several years of bloody but

indecisive fighting in Korea. Hideyoshi died soon after that, but his imperial ambitions remained implanted in the minds of the Japanese even during the period when they were isolated from the rest of the world. For more than three hundred years every schoolboy was taught the significance of "the dream of Hideyoshi," a dream of Japanese conquest which he might help to make a reality.

When the Japanese seclusion was ended by the treaties negotiated by Commodore Perry and Townsend Harris, the Japanese were frightened by the might of the Western powers as represented by steam-driven warships, rifles and high explosives. They armed feverishly, loading the peasantry with taxes. As soon as they were strong enough they attacked and defeated China and took the rich island of Formosa. The defeat of Russia, a decade later (which was a diplomatic rather than a military victory) paved the way for the annexation of Korea and the establishment of special rights and interests in South Manchuria. The dream of Hideyoshi was being realized. The Japanese had only to watch and wait for a favorable opportunity for the next move.

At the time the revolt against the Manchus was accidentally touched off in Hankow the members of the overstaffed Japanese Legation in Peking were carrying on intrigues with the corrupt Manchu princes, establishing contacts which might prove of future usefulness. The Japanese diplomats were well aware of the weakness and corruption of the Manchu regime and were steadily gaining a domination position by means of bribery and palace politics. Perhaps they did not anticipate the success of the revolutionary movement but they did contribute to the attacks on the Manchu regime by providing a refuge for Sun Yat-sen and others who were plotting its downfall. The Japanese secret

service was just as efficient as it is now and must have known what Revolutionist Sun's plans were.

No matter what happened, the Japanese were prepared to cash in on any new opportunities. If the Manchu regime continued, they could gain control of it by means of what purported to be a friendly alliance, just as they had gained control of Korea as soon as they got rid of Russian influence in the little kingdom. If the revolutionaries succeeded in overthrowing the Manchus, then they would count on a period of unrest and dissension in which they could take advantage of provincial differences, keep the country divided and eventually place in power a new dynasty whose emperor would owe allegiance to the emperor of Japan. Great dreams! Great ambitions! Great projects! They were also counting on the certainty that sooner or later there would be a war in Europe which would keep the great powers so occupied that they would be compelled to give Japan a free hand in China.

The Japanese thought the time had come in the early part of 1915. The political horoscope appeared to be propitious. Yuan Shih-kai was more or less precariously retaining his position as president of China. The republican leaders who had brought on the revolution were disgruntled but helpless, planning futile opposition to Yuan. The fire of enthusiasm with which the downfall of the Manchus had been greeted had burned itself out. The anticipated war in Europe had started. A large part of France was occupied by German troops. The French government had retreated from Paris. Great Britain was reeling under the impact of an undamaged German war machine. In the United States, President Wilson was doing his conscientious best to keep his country out of the war while Secretary of State Bryan was playing the role of a professional pacifist.

While Japan, because of the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, was fighting on the side of the Allies, the sympathies of the army were with Germany and Japan was prepared to shift to the other side at any time. This was a diplomatic secret known to everyone. It greatly enhanced Japan's position in international politics. Japan thought she not only had the cards marked but had a joker in her cuff. It was unthinkable that Great Britain would risk a break with her or that American pacifists would allow any strong action by the United States.

She accordingly presented to the government of China, as represented by Yuan Shih-kai, the infamous "twenty-one demands." If Yuan had accepted them, Japan would have assumed such political and military control over China as to make the country a Japanese colony, and prepare the way for annexation. Korea had been acquired in much the same way. The Japanese Minister who, as errand boy for the army, presented the demands, insolently insisted that secrecy be preserved about them, hoping to secure their acceptance before world opinion could be aroused. When news of the demands leaked out, Japanese diplomats in capitals all over the world denied that any such demands had been presented, demonstrating for the first time the efficiency of the officials of the Japanese Foreign Office as a well-trained chorus of liars for the military.

The presentation of the demands was disclosed¹ to the foreign powers. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance gave Great Britain authority to speak sharply to Japan on the subject of the demands. In spite of the fact that the British Empire was facing the most serious crisis in its

¹ In my book *I Speak for the Chinese*, I told how the Russian Embassy at Tokyo deliberately allowed a copy of the demands to fall into my hands. Owing to the efficiency of the Japanese censorship I was unable to get my story out of the country, but a correspondent in Peking was more fortunate.

history, the British Foreign Office made protestations to Japan. The United States also protested. Pacifist William Jennings Bryan, for once in his State Department career, took vigorous action. He was as hopping mad as a God-fearing Christian gentleman can be when he found that the Japanese ambassador had lied to him. The ambassador had assured the trusting Bryan that no such demands had been presented. As a result of the protestations and the pressure brought to bear, the demands were amended and though some of them were accepted, the independence of China was for the moment preserved.

Following the death of Yuan Shih-kai, which occurred in the year following the presentation of the demands, China was still more disunited than it had been in the past. Yuan's henchmen were struggling to succeed him and other minor military chieftains developed new ambition. The country was split into a number of areas, each of which was dominated by an ambitious war lord. The Japanese army which now dictated to the government in Tokyo on all matters concerning China introduced a new technique of conquest. Thousands of secret agents invaded China, many of them military officers of high rank, who wore civilian clothing and had been detached for special duty. That duty was to keep China weak and disunited by encouraging fights and squabbles among the war lords. The agents had plenty of money, unbudgeted money which could be paid out without a receipt. The war in Europe had brought great industrial prosperity as well as great political opportunities to Japan and both industrialists and militarists were a bit heady. With many highly profitable war contracts to execute Japan was enjoying an undreamed of prosperity. The army was popular and could get practically anything it asked of the Diet. Once

money was appropriated to the army it was spent in any way that the high command saw fit. There were never any official investigations, little public curiosity.

The war lords, each of whom hoped to occupy the vacant Dragon Throne found new encouragement for their ambitions. Each found in his neighborhood a Japanese agent with plenty of money who was happy to help him in his plans, supply him with arms at very easy terms of payment or with no payment at all. These agents, who operated in every part of the country, neglected no opportunity to create dissension in China. They devoted most of their attention to the big shots, but did not overlook the bandits who were supplied with Japanese arms. Their object was to create such chaos in China that public opinion, especially in Great Britain and the United States, would demand that Japan step in and preserve order. A lot of Shanghai businessmen did express the hope that the Japanese would come in and clean up the "damned mess."

The complete story of Japan's efforts to keep Chinese factions at war with each other and to prevent the organization of a stable government will never be told for the Japanese worked in great secrecy. But the facts regarding one group of very shady transactions are well known. In 1916 a Mr. Kamezo Nishihari set up an office in Peking where he remained for almost two years. He was, to all appearances, a private individual, representing a group of Japanese banks, and appeared to have command of unlimited funds. Every war lord or potential war lord made his way to Mr. Nishihari's office where he found it exceedingly easy to borrow money—very large sums of money on the flimsiest sort of security or no security at all. The loans were earmarked for flood relief, the building or improvement of railway, or construction of telegraph lines or other apparently legiti-

mate enterprises. But there was no secret in Peking or in any part of China as to what was done with the money. Actually there was very little money that changed hands. What the war lords received were credits which allowed them to purchase arms and munitions from Japan. Most of it consisted of old supplies carried over from the Russo-Japanese War and now obsolete but useful enough in the make-believe wars the war lords waged against each other. Japanese warships obligingly delivered the cargo.

In this way northern leaders were encouraged to continue military expeditions against the south or against each other. There was a constant shifting regrouping of war lords in North China, so that new ones were constantly coming within the orbit of Nishihari's influence. In order to understand Japan's position at that time, it must be remembered that while Japan was an ally of Great Britain and was theoretically at war against Germany, the sympathies of the army were with Germany and they expected either a German victory or a stalemate on the European front that would leave them a free hand in the Far East. However, as there was always the chance of an Allied victory, the Japanese played a cautious game and took elaborate precautions to convince the public that Mr. Nishihari was a private individual, outside the control of the Japanese government, who was making the loans on his own responsibility. When the subject of the loans was brought up for discussion in the Diet the official stenographers were instructed to put away their notebooks and make no record of the proceedings. Later the pretense that Nishihari was acting as a private individual was abandoned and it was admitted by Japan that the loans were official. The extent of the loans has never been revealed, but estimates which are generally believed to be accu-

rate place the total at between two hundred and two hundred and fifty million yen.² So far as is known few if any of these loans were ever repaid. Very appropriately they came out of the Japanese army funds for they were rightly considered a military expense. High Japanese army officers who had organized the whole plot doubtless considered the money very well spent for they had managed to prevent the unification of China, had retarded the development of the country and, they thought, made it ready for easy conquest when the appropriate time arrived.

The victory of the Nationalist armies and the establishment of the National Government in Nanking in 1927 upset the Japanese calculations. Chiang Kai-shek was one military leader their secret agents had never been able to approach, one whose rise to power they had watched with growing apprehension. They had directed bitter propaganda attacks against him. The army had leaflets and pamphlets attacking Chiang printed in Japan. The navy brought the material to Canton and delivered it to the consulate which took care of the distribution. Secret agents encouraged and financed his rivals for power in the southern military and political factions. The fact that Chiang was not a Cantonese had made it more difficult for him to hold the allegiance of those turbulent southerners and Japan had made the most of every opportunity to throw stumbling blocks in his path. When he came to Shanghai to take command of the Nationalist troops in that area, they employed Chinese men and women to shout "down with Chiang Kai-shek!"

In view of the new developments in China with the rapidly changing political situation, the Japanese

* At that time the yen was worth approximately fifty cents in United States currency.

thought it necessary to have a thorough discussion of the matter and readjust their plans. The result was a secret conference which convened in Moukden the latter part of June where for eleven days the whole China situation was reviewed. A conference of this sort was unprecedented, indicating the great seriousness with which the Japanese viewed the situation in China. Formerly plans had been worked out by the army high command and consular and diplomatic officials given their instructions. But the Moukden conference was attended not only by high-ranking military officers but also by diplomatic and consular officials, a group of several hundred men. A ten-year plan was worked out. At the conclusion of the conference, which adjourned on July 7, 1927 (a memorable date), Premier Baron Tanaka drew up his famous memorial to the emperor setting out in detail the program to be followed in order to gain mastery over China as a prelude to further conquests.³ The currency of Manchuria was to be wrecked by financial manipulation; retired army officers were to go to Mongolia disguised as colonists and buy up land in strategic areas.

The first part of the plan was carried out a little more than four years later. On the night of September 18, 1931, the Japanese army took possession of Moukden on the pretext that a mutiny had broken out in the arsenal there. In a few days the army had occupied all of Manchuria, practically without fighting.⁴ Chinese army officers had been bribed and few of them offered any opposition. The Chinese government, feeling that it had a clear case to present to the League of Nations,

³ See *Japan's Dream of World Empire*, by Carl Crow, which contains the most important part of the text of the Tanaka Memorial. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1942.

⁴ Manchuria occupied an area of 360,000 square miles and had a population of thirty million.

decided to take no military action which might complicate the issue. Diplomatic circles buzzed with excited cables but nothing was done. The Japanese plotters were correct in choosing this as an opportune time to act. The United States was suffering the first impact of the depression with bank failures a daily occurrence. Great Britain had been compelled to abandon the gold standard. The failure of the most important Austrian bank threatened all of central Europe with bankruptcy. As Henry L. Stimson, who was then serving as Secretary of State under President Hoover, said later:⁵ "It seemed as though from the Occident to the Orient, politically and economically, the world was rocking. . . . If anyone had planned the Manchurian outbreak with a view to freedom from interference from the rest of the world, his time was well chosen."

China immediately laid her case before the League of Nations. An international commission made an exhaustive investigation of the matter, found Japan to be guilty of unprovoked aggression. The proposed settlement involved the withdrawal of Japanese troops. Japan refused to accept the report and resigned from the League. While the commission was investigating the Manchurian affair, the Japanese navy attacked Shanghai. The attack was as unprovoked as in Moukden. The general opinion in Shanghai was that the navy, having been left out of the Moukden show, was jealous of the prestige the army had gained. Hundreds of Chinese civilians were killed and a great deal of Chinese property was destroyed.

Pu Yi, the boy emperor of China whose seal had been placed on the Manchu abdication edict, was taken to Manchuria where he was made the puppet emperor of a new Japanese-created state which was called Man-

⁵ *The Far Eastern Crisis*, by Henry L. Stimson, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1936.

chukuo. He was never given any power and Manchukuo remained under the complete control of the Japanese army. In placing Pu Yi on the throne of the puppet empire the Japanese had in mind the restoration of the Manchu dynasty, with a succession of emperors who would, for all practical purposes be Japanese. Pu Yi is not physically robust, has no children, nor is he likely to have any. His younger brother does not suffer Pu Yi's physical disabilities, has a Japanese wife who has borne several children and is likely to bear more. The Japanese army politicians who put Pu Yi on the throne were foresighted enough to arrange very definitely the terms of succession. Under the Manchu code, which was copied from the Chinese, succession to the throne could only be to the next generation, which meant that on the death of an emperor without a son, the throne would be occupied by a nephew. But the Japanese arranged with Pu Yi that his younger brother was to be his successor and that Pu Yi would not adopt a son. This means that on the death of Pu Yi's brother his successor would be half Japanese. No appropriate bride could be found for him outside the Japanese noble families, nor for his successors. Thus, according to the plans of the army plotters, it would only be a matter of a few generations until the emperor of China would be of predominant Japanese blood.

After having consolidated their position in Manchuria the Japanese army began to exert pressure and make encroachments on the tier of Chinese provinces lying just south of Manchuria. With only a flimsy pretext of justification Japanese soldiers, posing as contingents of the Manchukuo army, easily overran the strategically important province of Jehol and added it to the newly created puppet state. A movement was started to establish the "autonomy" of the five northern

provinces of Hopeh, Shansi, Suiyuan, Honan and Shantung; that is, to detach them from all control of the National Government at Nanking and place them under control of Chinese puppets selected by the Japanese army. The National Government, unprepared to risk open warfare with Japan, was forced into a number of humiliating compromises, such as an agreement to demilitarize a large part of North China. The Japanese military units were continually provocative, striving to create "incidents" which could be used to justify further aggressions.

As the Japanese noted the growth in the strength of the government of China, they produced more silk for the making of silk stockings for American women, raised the price by a monopoly control of exports, and bought more scrap iron.

Chapter XII

BUILDING A FORTRESS OF REFUGE

IT WAS not until 1935 that I traveled to the remote province of Szechuen in western China, the only part of the country I had not seen. I had some business to attend to there but my real reason for the trip was a desire to see the famous Yangtze Gorges, undoubtedly one of the outstanding scenic wonders of the world. I had a constant itch to explore every part of China and as I placed advertising in the newspapers of every province, I always had a valid excuse to make journeys to distant and interesting places. My clients liked it because I was always able to tell them something about some part of China which they had never seen, tell them how their goods were selling and what their competitors were doing. On this particular trip I saw a great deal more than the Yangtze Gorges, learned about things that were of more importance than the sale of my clients' merchandise, and returned to Shanghai with renewed respect for the political and military genius of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Also I learned more about what China was doing in the face of Japanese threats of war than I could possibly have learned in Shanghai.

This great province is much more remote from the commercial metropolis of Shanghai than any figures of distance would indicate. Ichang, which is the Gateway to the Gorges, is a thousand miles from Shanghai and Chungking, the head of steam navigation, is three hun-

dred and sixty miles farther up the river. Roughly, Ichang is about as far from Shanghai as St. Louis is from New York, Chungking as far as Denver. Neither the mileage figures nor the comparison with the geography of our own country give any hint as to the time required to get from Shanghai to Chungking by the fastest boats. Boarding a Yangtze River steamer at Shanghai in the late afternoon, the traveler passed the beautiful Silver Island off the port of Chinkiang and arrived at Nanking about twenty-four hours later.¹ After leaving Nanking the boat called at Wuhu, Kiukiang, and Anking and on the fifth day after leaving Shanghai reached Hankow where the great Han River pours its yellow flood into the even greater Yangtze.

Deprived of the contribution made by the Han, the Yangtze beyond Hankow is greatly diminished in volume. The lower Yangtze which flows from Hankow to a point near Shanghai is a broad, fairly straight stream, easily navigable. Its channel is so deep and so safe that during the summer season when the melting snows of Tibet bring high water, ocean-going vessels can go all the way to Hankow. The flow is so sluggish that in the equinoctial seasons the tide will swing ships at anchor at Wuhu, more than two hundred and fifty miles from the sea. Above Hankow the great river changes its character completely. The middle Yangtze, between Hankow and Ichang, is narrow, crooked and shallow and subject to frequent changes in channel. The large river boats which plied between Shanghai and Hankow could not proceed up the middle river and passengers had to be transferred and freight shifted to smaller boats. Owing to the difficulty of navigation these boats

¹ The train trip from Shanghai to Nanking was only an overnight journey. But hotel accommodations at Nanking were so bad and the schedule of steamer sailings so uncertain that travelers for points beyond Nanking usually went all the way by boat.

did not travel at night. The four hundred mile journey from Hankow to Ichang took almost as long as the six hundred miles from Shanghai to Hankow. At Ichang, the eastern end of the upper Yangtze it was necessary to change to a third and smaller steamer for the three hundred and sixty mile trip to Chungking. These small steamers were of special construction with engines of a power out of all proportion to the size of the craft. In the low-water season the water level at Chungking is about five hundred feet higher than the water level at Ichang. There are occasional calm and level stretches of water but though a good part of its course the upper Yangtze is churned by swift currents and at times the boat inches itself forward against rapids. Sometimes the propellers were not sufficient and a towline had to be thrown on shore where it was grabbed by several hundred Szechuanese coolies who added their primitive man power to that of steam. This section of the river provides more dangers to navigation than any other stretch of water of similar length in the world. It was known as "the graveyard of ships," and carried the highest maritime insurance rate in the world. It was a graveyard in which the dead provided their own tombstones in the form of funnels of sunken ships which had been holed and sunk. These provided an ever-present reminder of the dangers of the trip, but the brutal majesty of the scenery made one forget these minor fears.

According to an ancient Chinese story the upper Yangtze, which terminates in Chungking, was the final creation of the god of rivers, who, worn out and irritable after his labors, resented the intrusion of men on the great rivers he had made. Here he attempted to create one river which man could never navigate. He made the mistake, when tipsy, of boasting about this to the god of carpenters and the latter, his mettle up, declared that

he could build boats which would travel through any streams the god of rivers could make. The argument which followed, so the story goes, lasted until far into the night, did not end until both gods went to sleep with their faces in their bowls of wine. The god of rivers did not make good his boast for the god of carpenters built junks which could be pulled up through the rapids by hundreds of coolies, tugging and straining at huge bamboo hawsers. But the god of rivers has frequent victories for each year a number of junks and a few modern steamers go down in the whirlpools or are wrecked by the hidden rocks.

While the inhospitable river is navigable in times of peace it is impossible to conceive of any gunboat or any armada of gunboats that could ever go through this gorge against the feeblest of resistance. There are dozens of narrow channels which could be easily mined, an equal number of pinnacles from which small bombs and hand grenades could be tossed onto the decks of battleships as easily as a smoker tosses a cigarette butt into a cuspidor. Fissures and caves in the limestone cliffs provide a hundred natural emplacements for machine guns or batteries. As this is written, the Japanese have been in possession of Ichang for more than five years but no Japanese boat has ventured beyond the gateway.

At the end of two weeks I arrived in Chungking. I might have, in an equal length of time made a business trip to Tokyo, spent a week and returned to Shanghai. I could have made a round trip to Manila, could have traveled to Singapore, Honolulu or Moscow. China is a country of magnificent distances which are magnified by the difficulties of snail's-pace travel. No wonder that the Chinese who have a genius for putting human flesh on mathematical terms figure distances in the number of hours a day it takes to travel from one point to another

rather than the relatively unimportant number of miles which separate the two points.²

It was a surprise to find that the progress which had been so noticeable in the lower Yangtze Valley was being duplicated in this remote part of the country. For years the Shanghai newspapers had been full of stories of civil wars in Szechuen, of starving bandits, or unruly soldiers and of war lords who were even more rapacious than those in North China. The prosperity of the country, with its never-failing crops, had proved a curse for it enabled several war lords to support huge armies and divide the country between them. Not only that, but it invited occasional incursions from rival war lords in the neighboring province of Yünnan. According to newspaper stories a succession of war lords had piled exactions on one section of the province until the unfortunate people had paid their taxes for forty years in advance. This strikes a rather somber note unless one reflects that a people who could pay taxes forty years in

² In the many parts of the country where there were no rivers or railways and travel was by relays of sedan chairs over mountain trails, distance was measured by the number of "stages," that is the number of times the traveler encamped for the night before continuing his journey. Chinese guidebooks which were current when I went to China in 1911, set the distance between Talifu in Yünnan Province and Bhamo in Burma as twenty-six stages. It was twenty-five stages from Talifu to Yünnanfu (the present Kunming). This idea that distances should be measured by the difficulties of travel was universal. For more than twenty years I spent vacations and holidays in Chekiang and hiked many miles through the mountainous and beautiful province. Very frequently when starting out on a walk to some famous Buddhist monastery in the hills I would be told that the distance was ten li (about three miles). But when I started on my return journey to the water level where the houseboat was anchored I was given what was equally accurate information that the distance was only eight li. All transportation charges were worked out on this basis of charging more for an uphill than for a downhill pull. This sensible idea persisted with the Chinese even after the use of steam nullified the importance of grades. I remember when the first-class railway fare from Soochow to Shanghai was a few cents less than the fare from Shanghai to Soochow, which was up a slight grade.

advance must have been rather prosperous. The province was a large producer of opium which corrupted the entire area and affected the whole life of the river. Farmers grew it; war lords taxed it; boatmen smuggled it. There was scarcely anyone on the river either foreigner or Chinese who did not have something to do with the business and share its profits.³ Taxes on this illicit opium had made it easy for the war lords to collect huge sums of money but not one cent was spent on public improvements. The war lords, in their mad scramble for wealth, built nothing but bled the province of every available copper cash.

The newspapers had not exaggerated conditions in Szechuen in the past, but when I arrived in Chungking in the summer of 1935 conditions had been completely changed. One could travel all over the city without detecting a whiff of the sweetly nauseating scent of opium. Just to see what would happen, I asked a curio dealer to get an opium pipe for me. He solemnly assured me that there was not a single pipe in the city. Undoubtedly there were a few pipes left and undoubtedly there was still some opium being grown in remote mountainous sections. But the illicit traffic was no longer an open scandal.

Chungking, long famed as one of the filthiest and most unprogressive cities in China, was taking on a new life. Streets were being cleaned and many ramshackle old buildings torn down to make way for broad thoroughfares. There were a number of tall modern buildings and others in process of construction. A motor road to connect Chungking with the provincial capital at

³ One of the biggest opium smugglers was a highly respected American citizen of Shanghai, an officer of the American Club and a leader in civic affairs. None of us knew until long after his death that the hide and fur business which he conducted was only a blind, that his real business was the smuggling of Szechuen opium.

Chengtu was being pushed to completion. Other roads were being built to connect the city with all the provincial centers. The first link in what was later to become the Burma Road had been built connecting Chungking with Kunming. There had been more construction crammed into a few years than in several previous centuries.

I soon found that the reason for this great change was a military secret, though a secret of such huge dimensions that it could not well be concealed. The whole of western China was being prepared as a vast fortress to which the Chinese government and the Chinese armies might retreat in the event that they were driven up the Yangtze Valley by the Japanese. Officials would not talk about it and local residents were reticent but everyone knew what the plan was.

The Generalissimo had turned his attention to Szechuen soon after the National Government was established in Nanking. He went there personally and in a number of blunt and very un-Chinese speeches in which he jarred their complacent provincialism made the Szechuanese realize the common danger from the Japanese faced by all the provinces of China. The truculent war lords were surprisingly amenable in his presence. They allowed themselves to be stripped of power practically without a struggle. Their soldiers put down their rifles to take up a pick and shovel and start building roads and airfields. Poppy plants were pulled up and cotton planted instead. With the aid of the National Government a provincial loan was floated and the finances of the province were put on a sound basis. Foundations were laid for a broadcasting station which would be even more powerful than the new station which had been completed at Nanking. Several new airfields had been built and others were under con-

struction. A cotton mill which could be used in the manufacture of soldiers' uniforms was moved from Shanghai. A printing plant which produced bank notes was also moved from Shanghai. Vaults in the Szechuan banks were enlarged and strengthened to store silver reserves shipped from the big semigovernment banks. Munitions of all kinds were shipped in and stored. Barracks were built for thousands of troops.

All this was done in 1935, a full two years before the first shot in the undeclared war was fired. I find that I wrote at that time: "Here is a magnificent area where the Chinese government may still function without fear of serious interference if Japanese aggressions should drive its authority from all other parts of the country. There is still much work to do—millions of dollars to be spent on arsenals, factories, railways and the development of mines. But the fortress of Szechwan is already well prepared. Here is a spot to which the government of China can move and feel secure from invasion."

Isolated Szechuan Province, a place which very few foreigners had ever visited, provided the keystone for all of these plans for defense against Japan. It is the largest, richest, most populous, most inaccessible and most easily defended of China's provinces. It comprises a vast area with all of the physical characteristics of a city of refuge—but is large and rich enough to shelter and support a nation with a population equal to that of the United States. It contains an area larger than that of France, a normal population of eighty million which is about equal to that of France and Italy combined and greater than that of Japan. The population is larger now for thousands of Chinese have flocked to the province as a place of safety while other thousands have been sent there by the Chinese government to develop manufacturing and make Szechwan completely inde-

pendent of outside sources of supply of manufactured goods. No other area of equal size offers greater opportunities for development for all that man has done in Szechwan in the past centuries has been to till the soil. Its vast upland plain is the most fertile and most densely populated area on the globe. It is protected on all sides by mountains—fortresses built by nature, stronger than any that man could build.

Millions of years ago the mysterious forces of nature created in this remote part of the Asian mainland an area which meets the wartime needs of China with satisfactory completeness found in the plot of a fairy story. It would almost appear that gods of the Paleozoic period who were powerful enough to crumple mountains and disturb the contours of continents, foresaw a time when the Chinese would find their nation threatened with extinction, and made preparations to save them. In that period, for some reason which has puzzled geologists, a section of the great Tibetan Plateau slipped down to form a fairly level shelf of thousands of square miles of forest and plains surrounded on all sides by high mountains and rough country, which isolates the section almost as completely as if it were an island. The physical seclusion of the area is even more complete than that which was once provided by the Great Wall of China. The Yangtze, the one river which provides access to the sea, is hemmed in between high cliffs in a series of narrow channels; and its course is marked by rapids of such violence that navigation, which is restricted to small boats of special construction, requires the greatest skill and courage. On all sides the area is hemmed in by the great ranges of the Himalayas.

Having made this part of the world practically inaccessible to all other parts, the Paleozoic gods provided it with everything man would need. The storehouse of

nature was full at this early period and the gods endowed this broken shelf with fertile soil, an unfailing supply of water, a benevolent climate and great mineral riches. No human economist could have worked out such an ideal state of affairs. It is one spot on the earth's surface so inaccessible that it might reasonably have remained isolated and unknown for ages after other parts of Asia were thickly settled. It is also one spot on the earth's surface where a people might have come into being, thrived and grown to a vast population without knowing that any other part of the world existed. Perhaps they did at one time, for no one knows the history of the many aboriginal tribes whose remnants are still to be found in the hills.

When the first venturesome pioneers from India crossed the passes of the high mountain ranges, they found what was in many ways a paradise on earth. To an agricultural people it was a real and practical paradise for it offered to a farmer everything he could desire. The shelf which slipped down from Tibet covers more than two hundred thousand square miles and in the heart of it is the great Chengtu Plain, roughly forty by seventy miles and as level as if it had been prepared as an aviation field for a race of giants of dinosaurian proportions. The elevation of the plain is about two thousand feet but as high mountains shelter it on all sides it enjoys a climate peculiar to itself which, in the main, is a combination of Honolulu, California and the more charming seasons of New England. In summer the temperature rarely rises above ninety degrees and in winter it seldom freezes and the occasional snowfall does not survive the noonday sun. The seasons have a behavior all their own for the winter months are often marked by the most brilliant sunshine.

The periods of rainfall are as regular as if they were

mechanically controlled and rain falls in months when most needed by the growing crops. During periods of harvest the sun shines consistently enough for all the practical purposes of a farmer. While drought and floods are not unknown in some parts of this favored region they are so infrequent that generations live and die without ever experiencing them.

The soil was fertile and well-watered but when Chinese pioneers usurped the place of the Indians they improved on the works of nature. In the third century B.C. the famous Chinese engineer Li Ping, devised and constructed on the great Chengtu Plain one of the largest and most efficient systems of irrigation the world has ever known. In spite of the development of irrigation projects in other parts of the world, old Li Ping's system still serves more people than any other. By means of his cleverly devised dams, dikes and ditches the waters which torrential rivers bring down from the Tibetan Plateau are distributed throughout the plain so that every field is supplied.

Modern engineers who have traveled thousands of miles to see this ancient achievement have never found anything to criticize in his work. Their unanimous opinion is that Li Ping's irrigation system could not be improved upon because it is as nearly a perfect piece of engineering as is humanly possible. For many centuries it has justified its existence by supplying a vast number of people with food. The population is almost entirely rural, yet the land is so fertile and the irrigation system so efficient that this is the most densely populated area of similar size on the globe. The population of more than nine hundred to the square mile is denser than that of Belgium with all its busy factories and its by no means negligible number of fishermen.

The combination of a friendly climate, fertile soil

and the ancient system of irrigation gives the Szechuen farmer a position favored above all others. He grows as wide a variety of products as those produced between Louisiana and Canada, or between California and Maine and he always grows two crops a year, with an occasional third crop which he manages to work in between his crowded season of planting and harvests. There is no actual winter weather and seeds germinate, sprout, grow and mature all the year round. In August or September the crops of rice and corn and potatoes are harvested, and wheat, beans and peas are planted to be harvested in April or May. The textile crops of hemp and cotton follow the same fast routine. The Szechuen farmers have taken countless tons of wheat, rice, cotton, corn and potatoes from the soil of the country but have never impoverished it. In this connection it may be remarked that in a few hundred years of careless and profligate farming we have done more irreparable damage to our soil than the Chinese have done in four thousand years of intensive farming. There are no worn-out fields and none which have been damaged by erosion. Field crops do not represent all the products of the Szechuen farmer. As in all other parts of China he produces silk. He also produces wool in addition to cotton. In the hills are millions of the trees which produce the wood oils so essential to the paint and varnish industries. In China the number of pigs is a fair index of prosperity and there are more pigs raised and more pork eaten in Szechuen than in any other province.

There has been little development of the mineral resources of the province which are known to be enormous. The province has coal, iron, copper, lead, gold, silver and that precious antimony which is so necessary to steel manufacturers. From the deck of the steamer

I saw hundreds of busy miners at work panning minute but profitable particles of gold from the river shoals. It would be no surprise either to realistic geologists or to hopeful Chinese if mining developments in Szechuen were to disclose a natural storehouse of gold. Prehistoric oceans left huge subterranean reservoirs of brine which is pumped to the surface and evaporated by means of natural gas which comes from neighboring wells. The supply must be well-nigh inexhaustible for the wells have been worked for many centuries with no evidence of exhaustion. There is no doubt about the tremendous possibilities of water power development which can be measured only in terms of millions of horsepower.

Chinese leaders who foresaw the important part Szechuen was to play in national affairs also recognized the existence of great political difficulties. In the two and a half centuries of their rule, the Manchu government treated Szechuen with a cautious reserve. The unruly Szechuenese had a nasty habit of chopping off the heads of mandarins and sending them back to Peking with insulting messages. The Manchus did not even enforce the payment of taxes with the same severity as in other parts of the country. The province was troublesome but remote and was allowed to go its own way.

This was the policy followed by the National Government when first established at Nanking. But as the menace from Japan grew, the attention of the National Government was concentrated on this key to national defense. General Chiang Kai-shek made a number of visits there—some of long duration. By argument, compromise and clever political arrangements, he composed the differences of the local war lords and won their loyalty. His appeal to the patriotism of the Szechuenese spurred them into activity. With the aid of the National Government highways were built, landing fields con-

structed and all made ready for the defense of the province against an enemy who might attempt to cross its forbidding barriers. The tangled finances of the province were straightened out and put on a sound basis. All doubts about the loyalty of the Szechuenese were dispelled when the Japanese moved up the Yangtze and thousands of well-trained Szechuan troops bore the brunt of several battles.

Plans for the industrial development of Szechuen were worked out as completely as the plans for the military defense. In these plans the government of China appeared to visualize a time when the province would be cut off from the rest of the country and a government established there would have to carry on with no outside aid, might possibly have neither exports nor imports. When I was in Chungking in the summer of 1935 a great deal of progress had been made, perhaps a great deal more than I could discover for the government was working as secretly as possible. Sites for industrial plants had been selected—no large enterprises but a number of scattered units so that the destruction of one or more of them by airplane raids would not be of serious importance. Machinery was on hand for the erection of cotton mills and woolen mills—the first textile establishments in western China. All of the machinery for the printing of government bank notes had been installed.

In preparing Szechuen as a magnified city of refuge, the Chinese were only repeating a chapter from their own ancient history. In the seventh century before Christ the great Chow dynasty held sovereignty over the feudal states grouped around the Yellow River, ruling all of what was known as the civilized world. The rule of the Chow kings was unchallenged and no danger threatened from the immediate neighborhood. But to the north, on the plains surrounding the present city of

Peiping, some barbarian tribes were growing in power and casting covetous eyes toward the rich cities to the south. There was no immediate danger but the wise ministers of state thought that at some future time danger might threaten and made their preparations for it. With the advice of geomancers and magicians they selected a site for a new capital, a few hundred miles to the east. Even in that early day the genius for making superstition serve the ends of common sense manifested itself. The site selected was ideal from the standpoint of military strategy. The new capital was desirable for it was surrounded by fertile soil and was located on the bank of a navigable river.

A wall was built around the city site while inside it palaces, temples and residences were built. A few caretakers were employed to keep down the weeds and grass. Otherwise the city was unoccupied. It was not until two centuries later that the barbarians drove the Chow rulers out of their old capital and they found refuge in the new one. Here the dynasty continued to exist for another two hundred years before it was finally swallowed up by one of the feudal states. History moves more swiftly now. The present government of China had to move into the fortress of Szechuen in two years.

When I returned to Shanghai full of enthusiasm about the wonders of Szechuen and the far-sighted strategy of the Generalissimo there were plenty of people, Chinese as well as foreigners, who were ready to disillusion me. They had the answer. They said that Chiang had sold out to the Japanese who were to be allowed to take North China and the Yangtze Valley and leave Chiang a little empire for himself in West China. The deal had been engineered by his brother-in-law, T. V. Soong, who had already received a big advance payment. There were going to be millions in it because it would be

cheaper for the Japanese to pay than to fight. One American told me he knew it was true because a Japanese banker friend had told him all about it. The story probably originated as Japanese propaganda but it was generally believed in Shanghai.

Chapter XIII

BLACKMAIL, DOPE AND SABOTAGE

BEFORE the occupation of Manchuria, the strategy of the Japanese army, aided by the diplomats and big industrialists, financiers and private interests, had been confined to the policy of keeping China in a constant state of disunity by encouraging the war lords to fight each other. But with the success of the Manchurian enterprise they adopted the more positive policy of gradual encroachment on Chinese territory, taking over the administration of first one area and then another in the name of the Manchukuo government and setting up puppet regimes inside China. No piratical enterprise was too large for them to undertake, no petty gain too small for their attention. The Chinese coined a phrase to describe it. They said the Japanese swallowed like whales and nibbled like silkworms. The army, in control of Manchukuo, was in position to act even more independently than before, could make its own decisions without consulting the government in Tokyo. No one outside Japanese official circles knows how far the Japanese army went ahead on its own authority, but the general opinion of those who should know is that officials in Tokyo were often only a little less surprised than those in Washington at events in North China. There are a few fairly well authenticated stories that even the emperor himself was at times surprised at the things that had been done in his name.

The new state of Manchukuo had not celebrated its

second birthday before it began preying on its neighbors. A large body of "Manchukuo" soldiers with Japanese faces marched into the neighboring Chinese province of Jehol and calmly annexed it. The conquest was completed in ten days by the use of a great deal of motorized military equipment, the first time in military history that the main strength of an army had consisted of gasoline-propelled vehicles rather than cavalry. This significant fact was overlooked by all the newspaper correspondents except the Germans and Italians. The world did not then know and does not yet fully realize that the best brains of Japan are devoted to military problems. In the old feudal days the best craftsmen were those who made swords for the samurai, who monopolized the best steel. In modern days the best machines have always been for the army.

The territory of a hundred thousand square miles which was brought under Japanese control was not of any great economic importance. During Manchu days a very large part of the area had been given over to use as imperial hunting preserves for the Manchu princes. It had not been used for years because the descendants of the tough Manchu pioneers were too languid to be interested in anything as vigorous as hunting. With the end of the Manchu rule the land had been turned over to Chinese settlers, but the arable soil was so scanty in quantity and so poor in quality that few had established homes there. But Jehol was of great value to a predatory military power which was planning to gobble up North China and had designs on Mongolia. Armies based in Jehol were within easy striking distance of Peking and Tientsin toward the south, could march without obstruction into Inner Mongolia to the west.

The Japanese army now felt that it had a strangle hold on North China and began shaping its course ac-

cordingly. Under the terms of the Boxer protocol the treaty powers were given the privilege of maintaining garrisons or marine guards in Peking and Tientsin on the theory that they would be available to rescue foreign diplomats and civilians in the event of another outbreak of violence like the Boxer uprising. We kept a regiment of soldiers in Tientsin and a marine guard in Peiping. So did the British, the French and the Italians. It may here be explained that although the entire machinery of the Chinese government had been removed from Peiping and set up in Nanking, the Americans, British and a few other nations still maintained their legations in the old abandoned capital because this provided a valuable vantage point from which they could keep an eye on Japanese activities. For the same reason our marines and soldiers were not withdrawn.

The Japanese army, placing its own interpretation on the terms of the Boxer protocol stationed in North China bodies of troops which had more of the appearance of an army of occupation than of a diplomatic guard. Troops were garrisoned not only in Peking and Tientsin but at points between. They threw their weight about, marching through the Chinese countryside in maneuvers and sham battles. They did everything possible to provoke clashes with Chinese troops in the neighborhood.

In the meantime the political agents of the Japanese army were busy. Yin Ju-kong, a Chinese political opportunist with Japanese connections, including a Japanese wife, was encouraged to set up a regional government in an area of eastern Hopei with a population of about four million. The Japanese army gave this illegal government complete support. Puppet Yin whose territory adjoined Jehol, even set up his own customhouses and allowed Japanese goods to enter on paying only one-fourth of the duty provided for in the legal Chinese

tariff. Merchandise brought into Hopei in this illegal way filtered into other parts of China. This naturally disturbed legitimate trade but the disturbance was as nothing compared to what was to follow. Several other small, independent autonomous units were set up in this area. In fact, any Chinese who was bold enough to set himself up as a dictator in any area could command the support of the Japanese army, provided he was willing to meet the army terms, which were to be completely subservient. To the credit of the old war lords who had been marching their armies over China for so many years it must be said that they did not become Japanese puppets. Many of them had doubtless received bribes from or had been helped by Japanese agents and in return had done favors for Japan. But they drew the line at open and outright treason to their country. The men the Japanese army was able to employ were of inferior mold.

While there was no declaration of war, the Japanese army in North China conducted itself like an army of occupation. Private soldiers who always carried bayonets, even when off duty, bullied Chinese shopkeepers; commissioned officers bullied Chinese officials, editors and businessmen. Every Chinese official who did not receive the approval of the Japanese army was hounded out of office by a combination of threats, blackmail and terrorism. William Henry Chamberlain who has written a number of authoritative books about Russia and the Far East¹ tells of an incident which came to his personal observation in 1935. On a visit to Tientsin he read in a local newspaper:

Colonel Yuan Liang, who, during the last few days has been the subject of bitter attacks by the local Japa-

¹ *Soviet Russia, Russia's Iron Age and Japan Over Asia.*

nese press as by Japanese newspaper correspondents, left by this afternoon's through train for Nanking.

A few days later the newspapers announced that Colonel Yuan's resignation as mayor of Peiping had been accepted. He was not the only Chinese official to be driven from office merely because he dared to stand up against the Japanese army. Every Japanese army officer assumed that it was his right and duty to bully every Chinese official with whom he came into contact. In all of these activities, of course, the Nanking government was completely ignored.

In 1935, my advertising agency was placing advertising in about one hundred daily Chinese language newspapers and we also published an annual newspaper directory of China. About this time one of our American clients instructed us, other things being equal, to place his advertising in papers which supported the Kuomintang and the National Government of China. He was greatly impressed with the progress the government was making and wanted to take this method of expressing his appreciation of what the Kuomintang was doing for China. When we started to carry these instructions into effect we found that there was not a paper in all of North China which supported either the party or the government. There had been many of them a few years before this but they had all been suppressed by the Japanese army. In some cases the army officers browbeat the local Chinese officials into taking action. In others Japanese soldiers wrecked the plants owned by editors whose policies did not meet with Japanese approval. From Kalgan on the border of Mongolia to Tientsin on the Gulf of Pechili there was not a single Chinese newspaper that dared say a friendly word about the government of the

country. Nor could they so much as hint at the menace of Japanese aggression of which everyone was so conscious.

The Japanese army attempted with some success to control education in North China. The textbooks in the local Chinese schools were carefully examined and formal demands made on the school authorities that certain texts be eliminated and others changed. Truthful accounts of Chinese history were termed anti-Japanese. Nankai Middle School, one of the pioneer educational institutions of Tientsin, aroused the particular ire of the Japanese military and they marked it for destruction.

One of the first things the Japanese army did in the new state of Manchukuo was to convert it into a giant arsenal of narcotics. The Japanese generals had been impressed by two facts which made them realize the value of narcotics as a means of conquest. One was that the sale of opium was a very profitable business and that sales to Chinese provided a very easy way to put money into the war chest. The other was that Chinese soldiers who smoked opium were of no military value while civilian smokers were easy to control. Obviously opium could be made a military weapon of great value. The more of it that could be sold to the Chinese the more easily could the country be subjugated.

Some opium was grown in Manchuria for the attempts of the National Government to stamp out the traffic had had little or no effect in this remote part of the country. The antiopium measures had been enforced with great success at the seat of the government in Nanking, but with proportionately less success as the distance from Nanking increased. But in order to carry out their plans the Japanese war lords wanted more opium produced and consumed and they accomplished this by very simple

and direct methods. The antiopium laws were suspended. Then certain land taxes were made payable in raw opium instead of money, so many ounces each year for each acre of land. The landowner had to grow the opium poppy or lose his land!

Drug addiction did not move fast enough to keep up with the increased production. Besides, opium itself is a comparatively mild drug, not so habit forming as some of its derivatives. The Japanese army then arranged for the opening of factories in Harbin, Dairen and the Japanese concessions of Hankow and Tientsin where raw opium was converted into morphine and heroin. Fully aware of the demoralizing effect of narcotics, little manufacturing of this sort was done in Japan itself where it would have been necessary to use Japanese workmen. Almost all manufacturing was done in China, by Chinese and Korean employees. Hordes of impoverished Koreans were imported and offered an opportunity to make a comparatively comfortable living by selling dope, under the protection of the Japanese army. The smoking dens and "drugstores" which operated openly in Japanese-controlled areas soon outnumbered the rice shops by three to one. The activities of the Korean dealers were not limited to these areas. They traveled far afield as peddlers, free from interference by the Chinese authorities because, as Japanese subjects they were amenable only to the laws of Japan. Japanese army and consular officials gave them complete protection. It was useless for the Chinese authorities to arrest them on charges of violating Chinese laws for the Japanese judges always released them.²

The peddlers devoted much of their attention to garrison towns in North China and appeared to be

² An American woman who was convicted of acting as a carrier of narcotics for a smuggling ring in China is now serving a long prison term in the United States. She was tried in American courts in China.

especially interested in the soldier trade. This did no follow generally accepted ideas as to merchandising opportunities, for Chinese soldiers were notoriousl poorly paid and had little legitimate spending money. But the peddlers sold large quantities of narcotics to Chinese soldiers. How they received payment is any body's guess, but the Japanese army has many specia funds which would take care of expenses of that kind. Drug addiction spread rapidly but still not rapidl enough to satisfy the Japanese army. Addiction wa speeded up by the introduction of a new cigarette which sold at a cheaper price than that charged for the popular brands smoked by the Chinese soldiers. The cigarette were generously loaded with heroin and the unfortunate smoker became a drug addict before he knew it.³ Poppy acreage in Manchuria, doubled in 1934, increased three fold in 1936, and doubled again in 1937.⁴ "We shoulc not be far short of the mark," said Commissioner Harry J. Anslinger of the United States Bureau of Narcotics, "if we said that ninety per cent of all the illicit 'white drugs' of the world are of Japanese origin. Japan's agressive dope spreading policy is as definite as her mil-itary aggression." Mr. Anslinger might have added that the dope spreading policy was part and parcel of the program of military aggression.

Conclusive evidence of the Japanese army's use of narcotics as a military weapon is provided in an official army publication, military handbook which is part of the kit carried by every Japanese soldier. Paragraph 15 of the handbook reads:

³ Young Marshal Chiang Hsueh-liang acquired the dope habit innocently. He went to a Japanese doctor to be treated for some minor ailment and the doctor fed him dope in the form of medicine. At that time the Japanese army was determined to destroy the young marshal's political prestige.

⁴ Figures are from reports made to the League of Nations' committee on opium and other dangerous drugs.

The use of narcotics is unworthy of a superior race like the Japanese. Only inferior, decadent races like the Chinese, Europeans and East Indians are addicted to the use of narcotics. That is why they are destined to become our servants and eventually to disappear.

The decisive day was approaching and the army was getting ready to act. Having broken down all authority in North China, the army, aided by the big mercantile houses of Japan, now began to disrupt the economy of the area by wholesale smuggling. I was returning to Shanghai from a business trip to Peiping and when the train stopped at the Tientsin station saw the smuggling operations at first hand. The station platform was packed but the usual Chinese guards or railway police were not to be seen. Japanese soldiers and police, accompanied by their officers, were everywhere. Alongside the platform were trucks piled high with boxes and bales of merchandise especially packed in small parcels for transportation in the compartments of a passenger train.

As soon as the train stopped Japanese police came through the cars accompanying Koreans and a few Japanese civilians. Vacant compartments were occupied without the formality of a ticket. Luckless Chinese were chucked out and their places taken by the Koreans and Japanese. A British friend was sharing the compartment with me and they did not disturb us though a Japanese later attempted to store some of his smuggled cargo with us.

Having taken possession of the train, the smugglers then loaded it with parcels from the trucks. They were passed in through the windows, piled into every square inch of space in the compartments and in the corridors until they were almost impassable. The train was held up for a half hour until the loading was completed; and

then we steamed south carrying several hundred thousand dollars worth of Japanese merchandise on which no duty had been paid to the Chinese government and no freight on this government-owned railway.

The scene which I witnessed was repeated daily. At many points in North China Japanese cargo boats anchored off beaches where there was no port of entry and small boats brought the cargo ashore while Japanese soldiers or police guarded it from interference by customs officials. After this had been going on for several months the Japanese government, by military threats, compelled the Chinese customs service to disarm all of its guards and remove the guns from its coast guard boats. The Japanese and Koreans were heavily armed and could always count on the aid of their soldiers and police. On several occasions when the Chinese customs authorities had seized smuggled goods they were over-powered by armed smugglers who recovered the goods. An armed mob broke into the customs warehouse in Tientsin and took away a huge quantity of bonded goods on which no duty had been paid. The widespread distribution of smuggled goods had a paralyzing effect on the legitimate trade of North China. No competing lines could be sold in the face of such competition. Retail shopkeepers went bankrupt and small Chinese factories were compelled to close. In an effort to restrict the distribution of this contraband cargo the Chinese government set up barriers and customs guards on roads leading out of Tientsin, but these halted the flow of smuggled goods only momentarily. The smugglers began using motor trucks which flew the Japanese flag and were accompanied by heavily armed guards.

The smugglers also widened their scope of operations, began flooding Shantung Province. Farther south the Japanese bullied the customs authorities into an agree-

ment that Japanese nationals could land in Foochow without examination of personal baggage. Once the concession was gained every boat from Tamsui or other Formosan ports arrived packed with Formosans carrying bags, bales and trunks of merchandise. Under the pretense that this was personal baggage the Japanese authorities declined to allow its examination and insisted that it enter Foochow without payment of duty. Here, as in North China, retailers were driven into bankruptcy and Chinese factories were compelled to close.

All of these smugglers, whether Japanese, Koreans or Formosans, were exempt from punishment by the Chinese authorities for, under the terms of the treaties, they enjoyed extraterritorial rights and could be tried only in Japanese courts. When charges were made against them they were always released by the Japanese judges. The Japanese consul general in Tientsin told newspapermen that he had made a careful study of Japanese laws and had been unable to find any law against smuggling goods into China.

This officially inspired sabotage not only created chaos in business circles in a large area of China, but made serious inroads on the revenue of the government which depended on customs receipts to pay the interest and amortization of the country's bonded indebtedness. A Chinese government official estimated that the loss in revenue amounted to more than one million dollars (U. S. currency) per month.

Yet in spite of this official sabotage, trade in China was increasing rapidly. The building of highways and establishment of bus lines, especially in the rich Yangtze Valley, opened up many new avenues by which raw products could be exported and foreign goods brought in. The constantly increasing sale and wider distribution of such luxury items as fountain pens, camera film, toilet

soaps, dentifrices, and California canned fruit provided convincing evidence of growing prosperity and a rising standard of living. The complete returns for the year of 1936 showed an increase of about three million dollars (U. S. currency) over 1935. It was believed that the increase would have amounted to more than ten million dollars if it had not been for the activities of the smugglers.

Chapter XIV

WAR COMES TO THE YANGTZE

ON THE morning of Saturday, August 13, 1937, I was very pleasantly engaged at my office in Shanghai writing a report to one of my principal clients, an American toothpaste manufacturer. About this time every year, for a number of years, I had written to him about the business of the past and prospects for the coming year. Some of my former reports had been apologetic for though sales had shown an annual increase they had not increased rapidly enough to keep pace with our expectations. This report was full of optimism about China. There had been no disturbance of trade by civil wars; the currency had been reformed; troublesome taxes had been abolished, the building of highways and railways had opened up many new markets. The National Government had been in power for just ten years and appeared to be as stable as any government could hope to be. A few years before that everyone had been worried about the Communist activities in Kiangsi Province but the Communists had been driven out by Généralissimo Chiang and had settled in the northwest, so far from Shanghai that we had practically forgotten about them. China was prospering and the Chinese standard of living was rising rapidly. In my report I pointed out that while there were more than sixty brands of locally made toothpastes on sale in Shanghai at very cheap prices, the sales of the more expensive American brands continued to increase. The sales of cheap cameras and

films, a sure index of increased purchasing power, had been greater for the first half of 1937 than for the whole of 1936, which had been a record year. All of the clients of my advertising agency were preparing to spend more money than ever before. With complete confidence in the future I had been investigating the price of real estate in Tsingtao, thinking it would be pleasant to own a summer home there.

There had been a clash between Chinese and Japanese soldiers on July 7,¹ and some Japanese gunboats were reported coming from Japan to Shanghai. A few days before this two Japanese sailors had been killed by local militia when they tried to force their way into a Chinese airdrome. All this made for a lot of interesting talk around the club bars but Shanghai businessmen were not especially perturbed. We had been through a lot of this sort of thing. The Chinese and Japanese had been bickering in the north for years. The conflict had usually ended with Japan getting another toe hold on some more Chinese territory, but nothing that had happened up there had in any way affected the trade of the Yangtze Valley and that was all that the commercial city of Shanghai was interested in. Six years before this the Japanese had taken Manchuria but this in itself had hardly created a ripple in Shanghai. We had had an unpleasant month following the Manchurian coup when the Japanese navy had attempted to pull off a little coup of its own in Shanghai; but a few months later the normal flow of trade had resumed. We had learned by experience that war may retard trade but does not destroy it. There might be death and destruction all around you but people still bought food and clothing and toothpaste. The Japanese insisted that the scrap in North China was

¹ Note that this was the tenth anniversary of the conference in Moukden which resulted in the famous Tanaka Memorial.

purely a local affair, that could be settled by the local authorities. We felt sure that the Chinese would give in again; that the threatened trouble would blow over and that business for 1938 would be even better than it had been during the first half of 1937.

The report in which I was embodying all these ideas was never completed. The glass in the window was shattered by a terrific explosion followed by the sound of machine-gun fire and the burst of shrapnel from anti-aircraft guns. I looked out on the street and saw rickshas and wheelbarrows abandoned, Chinese running in all directions. There were more explosions, more gunfire. It was all very near at hand for Chinese aviators were trying to drop bombs on the Japanese flagship "Idzuma," which was anchored on the Bund, only a few hundred yards from my office. Japanese gunboats anchored in the harbor opened fire on the Chinese areas surrounding the International Settlement and even on parts of the settlement itself. Chinese aviators continued to attempt to drop bombs on the "Idzuma," but the bombs fell on crowded streets, killing thousands. Chinese armies in the neighborhood moved in their batteries and returned the fire of the Japanese naval guns. We became quite accustomed to hearing shells scream over us during the night. When darkness fell the whole skyline was filled with a red glow for the Chinese cities of Nantao and Chapei were burning. The flames were unimpeded for the residents of these two cities had either been killed or had fled. Before the day was done the usually gay city of Shanghai was a city of the dead with more corpses on the streets than coffins could be provided for. The number of dead was increasing hourly. Japanese bluejackets had taken over a part of the International Settlement.

Now that the war had come to Shanghai's doorstep

and some of our friends and fellow club members had been killed, the events in North China took on a new significance and the story of what had happened there was told again and in greater detail. The Japanese army, continuing its policy of provocation and encroachment had staged night maneuvers in the vicinity of the famous Marco Polo Bridge near Peiping. There were a hundred other places where these maneuvers could have been staged, places where they would have caused little inconvenience and attracted little attention. The Japanese army chose to hold them near a Chinese garrison. When the maneuvers had been completed, it was announced that one of the soldiers was missing. The Japanese commanding officer declared that the missing soldier had been killed or kidnaped by the Chinese and demanded the right to send in squads to search the garrison. The Chinese commander refused to allow this. Midnight came with Chinese and Japanese troops quartered close to each other, each restless and apprehensive. A rifle shot was fired, no one knows by whom, and the battle was on. It wasn't much of a battle and there wasn't any really serious fighting until after the Black Saturday in Shanghai.

The Japanese insisted that this newest dispute was a purely local affair which could be settled by negotiations with local officials. Several agreements were made but as soon as the Chinese gave in on one point the Japanese made new demands. In the meantime train-loads of troops came south from Moukden and heavily loaded transports sailed from Japan. Naval units began to concentrate at Shanghai.

Everyone was waiting to learn what Chiang Kai-shek and his government proposed to do. Foreigners who had followed his career believed that he would not fight the Japanese except in the last extremity. When the Japa-

nese navy had attacked Shanghai in 1932, he had remained aloof, had sent little help to the army which fought the Japanese. Many of his enemies had commented on the alacrity with which he always took up the challenge of a Chinese war lord but his obvious reluctance to come to grips with the Japanese. Chiang, being a Chinese realist, made a distinction between the responsibility for waging a war against recalcitrant Chinese and war against a powerful nation which might result in defeat and subjugation. In one of his many speeches in which he discussed political theories and foreign and domestic policies, he said:² "As far as I am concerned I will not evade my responsibilities. We shall not forsake peace until there is no hope for peace. We shall not talk lightly of sacrifice until we are driven to the last extremity which makes sacrifice inevitable. The sacrifice of an individual is insignificant, but the sacrifice of a nation is a mighty thing. For the life of an individual is finite, while the life of a nation is eternal." Chiang's friends and political supporters said that he was determined to resist Japanese aggression but was only playing for time, appeasing the Japanese and making compromising agreements with them while consolidating the country politically and strengthening the army. Later events have proved they were right.

At the time of the Japanese attack of the Marco Polo Bridge the Generalissimo was at his summer White House, a modest cottage in the mountain resort of Kuiling which he rented from an American missionary. To a conference of national leaders which was in session there he explained the gravity of the situation. In a speech he made on July 17, he was still hoping for peace, "but we do not seek for peace at any price."

² Speech before the Fifth National Congress of the Kuomintang on November 19, 1935.

We are not seeking war [he said], We are meeting attacks made on our existence. Our people must realize that today the Central Government is in the midst of preparing measures to defend ourselves. Weak nation as we are, we cannot neglect to uphold the integrity of our race and insure the very existence of our nation. We cannot neglect to safeguard the heritage of our forefathers, a duty which we must fulfill to the utmost. Let us realize, however, that once war is begun there is no looking backward. We must fight to the bitter end. If we allow one inch more of our territory to be lost, then we would be guilty of committing an unpardonable offense against our race.

Five days later it appeared that the crisis had been settled and war with Japan again averted. The general in command of the troops in North China, with the approval of the central government, had accepted new Japanese demands which had mainly to do with the suppression of anti-Japanese activities. But the Japanese war machine had started to move and it was too late to stop it. Other demands were presented and before there was time for a reply the Japanese troops attacked the Chinese forces. This was on July 26.

Up to this time there had been no hint of any trouble anywhere except in North China. Political wiseacres in Shanghai assumed that all the Japanese intended to do at this time was to detach the five northern provinces completely from the control of the central government and set up an autonomous government there. That had been the main objective of all Japanese plotting and scheming for several years. On August 10, all Japanese were ordered evacuated from Hankow. Some believed the Japanese did this in order to prevent incidents in

that area which would make it impossible to confine the fighting to North China. Others were equally sure it meant that the Japanese had enlarged the sphere of their ambitions and wanted the lower Yangtze Valley as well as North China. Old-timers ridiculed this idea, calling attention to the fact that this area had been definitely earmarked as a "sphere of British influence." We all knew that the Japanese were getting increasingly cocky, but no one thought they would deliberately offend Great Britain.

Events moved rapidly. On August 11, a strong Japanese fleet arrived in Shanghai. Chinese troops moved in closer to the city, but there was no fighting. Shanghai opinion was that the fleet was there only as a threat and that there would be no fighting in the Yangtze Valley. Whether or not Shanghai opinion was right about the intentions of the Japanese, I do not know. I think it might have been difficult to arouse the Chinese people to complete unity if the fighting had been confined to the north. There had been demands from all parts of China for action against the Japanese. While some of these demands were of doubtless sincerity, there were others which may have been made solely in order to embarrass the central government and to lower the prestige of the Generalissimo who was growing entirely too powerful to suit a number of ambitious politicians. The explosion I had heard was China's answer to the Japanese threats.

Chiang did not wait to learn whether the Japanese intended to make it a general or a local war. In a number of speeches he had clearly set forth the conditions under which peace could be maintained. Japan had gone too far. He did not wait for the Japanese fleet to attack. The bomb which I had heard explode had been

dropped by a Chinese plane. If the aviator had released the bomb a split second later it would have landed on the Japanese flagship "Idzuma."

The Japanese war of aggression which had started in Manchuria a little less than six years before this had now reached the Yangtze. All of China was now at war, not just one section. The Communists with whom Chiang had been fighting for years pledged their allegiance to him. Recalcitrant war lords from the north, south and west journeyed to Nanking to offer their services. In the distant province of Yünnan, which had always remained semi-independent, the authorities began training and equipping a modern army at provincial expense. Wealthy Chinese in San Francisco, New York, Manila, Singapore and dozens of other places began making contributions to war funds and subscribing to Chinese war bonds. The Chinese people were more united than they had ever been in their long and eventful history.

No one had any doubt about the ability of the Japanese to take the coastal provinces and march up the Yangtze. Wealthy Chinese throughout this area began to bury their porcelain, bronze and jade curios, had their silver vases and ornaments melted into bricks which they could more easily carry with them. I saw the first thousands of refugees pass my house, in a stream which appeared to be as ceaseless as a river. At night I heard the soft plodding of cotton-shod feet, the murmur of voices and the occasional wail of a baby. They were fleeing from their ruined homes in Chapei, a city which was reduced to rubble by shells and aerial bombs. Many who started then did not stop until they reached the western provinces of Yünnan and Szechuen. More than fifty million people were driven from their homes and have not yet been able to return.

Without hope of being able to stop the invasion the Chinese troops fought stubbornly and with a great deal more success than anyone anticipated. The Japanese were not able to adhere to their timetable. They moved more slowly and lost more men than they had calculated on. But they did move inexorably, the navy going up the Yangtze with nothing more serious than mine-laid waters to impede its progress. Soochow fell. So did Hangchow. The National Government fled from Nanking, halting only briefly at Hankow before going on to establish the wartime capital at Chungking.

The Japanese army had used narcotics as a military weapon in North China and they now used terrorism. In the shelling of Chapei no distinction had been made between official buildings, military establishments and private residences. It was, in fact, a cheap residential and factory district and no troops had been quartered there for years. The Japanese plan was to destroy everything, to terrorize the Chinese people so thoroughly that they would have no hope left.

Japanese aviators machine-gunned everything that moved. One of them saw a train packed with refugees on its way from Shanghai to Hangchow. Flying low he poured machine-gun bullets through the windows on one side of the train, then flew back and machine-gunned the other side. On the occupation of Nanking the Japanese soldiers looted, raped, burned and tortured, setting a new record for brutality. That was only one of many places where they did that. It was not a case of soldiers getting out of hand. The policy of the Japanese high command was to create such terror, to cause so much suffering on the part of the civilian population of China that they would demand what the Generalissimo had said China could not grant, "peace at any price."

As the war continued another Japanese military policy clearly emerged and that was the destruction of Chinese culture. When fighting started in Tientsin the first building to be completely destroyed was the Nankai Middle School, a famous institution of which the Chinese were particularly proud because it was a purely Chinese enterprise. That marked the beginning of a systematic destruction of every school and library that fell in the range of a Japanese bomber or was in territory occupied by Japanese troops. It was the avowed intention of the Japanese to replace these institutions with schools of their own in which instruction would be in the Japanese language—the same program they later carried out in the Philippines.

While it was probably not a part of the program of the high command, individuals of the Japanese army grew rich on loot and squeeze—not all of them, but a very large proportion of them. Private soldiers helped themselves to anything they could find—were brazen enough to hold up Americans and relieve them of fountain pens, watches or cameras. Officers raided the homes of wealthy Chinese and carried away expensive furniture. This was just petty larceny and was not so important as the well-organized rackets which soon developed in every city under Japanese occupation. Sentries posted at all approaches to cities levied a regular toll on farmers bringing produce into the city, an illegal imposition of octroi. American friends who have seen this squeeze in operation in Shanghai say that huge sums are collected and that the sentries are compelled to give the greater part of it to their superior officers.

This money is collected in small amounts from the farmers, but it is collected every day from thousands. In the end it has added millions of dollars to the cost of fresh vegetables which provide the bulk of the Chi-

nese diet and contributed to the inflation. Incidentally it provided millions in loot for Japanese private soldiers and petty officers. Larger sums of money were paid by Chinese and foreign businessmen for the wide variety of military passes and permits without which it would be impossible to do business. These permits are required for the shipment of goods or for personal travel. Theoretically, anyone who has a legitimate reason for a permit can get it on application and without cost. Actually the applicant may be kept waiting for hours or may be compelled to come back day after day before the permit is issued. The result is that the business of selling permits has been established by a large group of Japanese carpetbaggers who have followed the armed forces. Each of these men has a friend among the Japanese army officers or has such influence that he can get a permit without difficulty or delay. Chinese businessmen simply pay over the cash which the carpetbagger divides with the officials. The result of all this is that Japanese army officers are figuratively rolling in wealth. The pay in the army is so low that even officers of the rank of colonel have little money to spend on luxuries. Yet from every occupied post in China there come the same stories of lieutenants and captains, to say nothing of those of higher rank, spending huge sums nightly in clubs or piling up comfortable balances in Chinese banks where they can escape the Japanese government income taxes.

All of these speculations, large as they are, are petty compared to the wholesale seizure of Chinese and foreign industrial plants and real estate. The procedure is almost always the same and one example provided is an example for all. In the first months of the war, Japanese troops occupied a Chinese-owned cotton mill in Shanghai, and stayed on long after there was any mili-

tary reason for doing so. The mill was idle, stocks of yarn deteriorating and machinery rusting. Then a Japanese approached the Chinese owners with a proposal to buy a share in the mill. The Japanese said they had enough influence to get the soldiers out and intimated that if the Chinese owners refused to sell the soldiers would stay on indefinitely. Under the circumstances there was nothing for the Chinese owners to do but to agree. But no cash changed hands. The Japanese formed a new company and gave forty-nine per cent of the stock to the Chinese owners for the property. Thus they got a mill worth several million dollars for no expense except that of organizing a company and printing a book of share certificates.

The same procedure has been used over and over again until Japanese interests now have quasi-legal possession of every industrial enterprise, big realty holdings or financial institutions in occupied China except for the few that are owned by their Axis partner, Germany. In 1931, Japanese investments in China amounted to a little more than one billion dollars. The property now held by Japan is probably worth ten times that sum.

While the principal sufferers from this system of blackmail were Chinese capitalists, other nations were not spared. A Dutch friend of mine was quite a big shot in the financial world of Shanghai, held the title deeds to a number of apartment houses worth millions of dollars in any kind of currency. He owned an interest in all of these properties and acted as trustee for the other investors. The Japanese authorities started negotiation for the purchase of the property, offering a very low price and that payable in Japanese paper currency of doubtful value. He held out stubbornly, demanding a fair price, paid in worth-while currency. Then he was

chucked into jail and made to suffer hardships and cruelties he was not conditioned to endure for he was past middle age and had lived a soft life.

The negotiations were continued in jail, with my friend existing on a few bowls of cold rice daily, sleeping on lice-covered blankets. He was assured all the time that he would be released and allowed to return to his own comfortable home if he would only put his signature on the dotted line. After weeks of intense physical suffering, he capitulated, signing a document which transferred to the Japanese the title to millions of dollars worth of property.

As the war progressed, the well-equipped and well-trained Japanese army appeared to march at will over large expanses of China, but it did not win any decisive battles. Bill Donald, who had explained the Chinese revolution to me more than a quarter of a century before this, had told me what the strategy of the Chinese army would be if there was a general war. This strategy had been worked out, by the way, by the Generalissimo and his staff and not by the large group of German military experts he had employed to help train the Chinese troops. The strategy was based on recognition of the fact that the Chinese could not hope to win pitched battles against the superior Japanese forces and that ultimate victory would have to come through attrition. The Generalissimo called it "magnetic strategy" and said that he was trading space for time. This meant that the Chinese would retreat before superior Japanese forces, avoid pitched battles, draw the Japanese as far as possible from their bases and then pick them off. With this went the policy of "scorched earth." Retreating Chinese forces destroyed everything so that the advancing Japanese troops marched through barren land.

This is the kind of warfare the Chinese have fought for more than five years, with no major defeats or victories on either side. The Japanese occupation of territory has in no place been so important as it appears on maps for in no large areas have they been in complete occupation.

Chapter XV

THE NEW CREED OF *GUNG HO*

THE most familiar trade-mark in China today is a triangle surrounding two simple Chinese characters. The characters are pronounced *gung ho* and mean "work together." Or they might be translated "all for one and one for all." That is the creed of the family in China and the fact that it has been adopted by unrelated groups is one of the most significant social and economic developments of the present day. The trade-mark is used to distinguish the products of the Chinese industrial co-operatives, an amazing organization which has come out of war-torn China. Although a wartime enterprise, the C.I.C., as it is generally called, promises to play a leading part not only in the future industrial development of China but in making the country a practical as well as a theoretical democracy. The organization is already playing an important part in industry, is carrying a heavy share of the burden of production both for army and civilian uses. An incomplete list shows more than two hundred different items of merchandise being produced in thousands of small isolated factories and shops. In addition to this the co-ops mine coal, iron, wolfram and tungsten, build roads and air-fields and run trucking services, have their own banking system and operate retail stores. According to a recent statement by a Chinese semiofficial publication, millions of people gain a livelihood by the sale of *gung*

to products and services and other millions are indirectly benefited.

A great many people deserve a share of credit for the development of this new social-industrial organization, including an American missionary who died before the movement was started. A young New Zealander took the initiative, a British ambassador, Chinese financial and social leaders, American newspapermen and others of many nationalities helped. They supplied the idea and did the promotion work. That is as far as the movement would have gone had it not been for the surprising ability of Chinese from different parts of the country to work together, something they had never done before.

The idea of co-operative enterprise was comparatively new in China but was not untried. Six or seven years before this there were a few thousand rural co-operatives in existence, four-fifths of them organized to aid members in securing credit for farm operations. They proved of such great usefulness that thousands of new ones were organized every year until now there are more than two hundred thousand of them, with a membership estimated at about twenty million. They are playing an increasingly important part in the life of the farmers of the country; and provide one of the many mechanisms which have been set up to accomplish agrarian reforms.

The industrial co-operatives, which are much more active organizations, were brought into being as a wartime necessity. In order to explain the movement, it is necessary to review briefly the changes which have taken place in Chinese industry and the new burdens placed on it by the Japanese invasion. Until a little more than a hundred years ago Chinese knew practically nothing about goods of any kind produced by

machinery. For centuries skilled craftsmen had produced everything by hand and the rest of the world marveled at the richness and refinements of Chinese merchandise. From this distant and mysterious country came the finest porcelain, cotton, silk, furniture and jewels—even wallpaper and stationery. Chinese brought practically no merchandise from abroad because there was nothing that equaled what was produced at home. Each city in China was self-contained, just as American towns were when each one had its local tailor, baker, harness shop, wagonmaker, sawmill, and flour mill. In China even such things as nails, furniture and cooking utensils were made in local shops.

Then the flood of machine-made merchandise began to come in from foreign countries. The industrial revolution in England had its repercussions in China where it signaled the beginning of the end of the old industrial system based on small shop handicrafts. Cotton cloth produced in Manchester was the first machine-made article to come to China in volume. It was followed by cheap German hardware and a varied line of other merchandise. American machine-made nails killed the production of handmade nails. Foreigners not only brought in merchandise from abroad but set up factories in Shanghai and other coastal cities to produce goods for sale in the interior. Slowly but inexorably the old Chinese artisans were driven out of business by the thousands. Sons did not succeed to the occupations of their fathers, in the traditional Chinese manner because the father's occupation was gone. There was an unhealthy shift of populations toward the port cities, industrial stagnation in the interior. Chinese living in the coastal cities went into manufacturing rather tardily, but there was no factory development of any importance in the conservative, unprogressive interior.

When the Japanese began their own industrial development they completed the destruction of the old Chinese industries by flooding the market with their own very cheap products. China had always been famous for the production of porcelain, and had at one time produced porcelain for the quality market all over the world. But a quarter of a century ago shops all over China were stocked with chinaware made in Japan. The most famous of the old Chinese potteries were closed.

Within a few months after the Japanese armies began their march up the Yangtze Valley in the autumn of 1937, they had destroyed or taken possession of nine-tenths of China's industries and had instituted an ever-tightening blockade which cut off foreign supplies. During the same period fifty million refugees fled to the interior from the coastal provinces, many of them going to districts where they did not understand the local dialects. These refugees included not only the wealthy men and intelligentsia from the coastal cities, but also a very large proportion of the skilled workers of this area. These millions of refugees placed a double burden on the people in the interior. They were cut off from supplies of ordinary every day things like soap, tooth-brushes, and hardware and at the same time were invaded by this great army of refugees. The retreating Chinese armies were also cut off from their source of supplies on which they had depended in the past. The interior of China was like a desert island so far as manufactured goods were concerned—a desert island crowded with refugees.

The industrial co-operatives came into being primarily as a relief measure—a method of providing employment for the refugees. It is more than probable that the men who started it had little idea that the move-

ment would spread so rapidly or that it would become such an important factor in the industrial development of the country. The industrial co-operatives are now supported by thousands of people in a number of countries, but it was started by a very small group. The name of Rewi Alley is most frequently mentioned among the members of a small committee of foreigners and Chinese who met in Shanghai and discussed methods of relief for the refugees. Alley, an engineer by profession, was factory inspector for the municipality of the Shanghai International Settlement and his work had daily brought him into contact with child labor and all of the other evil aspects of industrial life in a city with one of the world's lowest wage scales.

As a New Zealander, Alley was naturally familiar with the workings of co-operatives, which have played such a vital part in the development of industries in that British commonwealth. He had also seen the success with which Joseph Baillie, an American missionary, had established small farm co-operatives near Nanking. Alley proposed that work be found for the refugees by the establishment of industrial co-operatives and his suggestion found enthusiastic supporters. In a very short time—a surprisingly short time for a people supposed to be as slow-moving as the Chinese—the plan was presented to people in high authority and received their approval. It is said that Dr. H. H. Kung, the Minister of Finance, at first ridiculed the idea. That is entirely possible for Dr. Kung is, in his own right, a big businessman and a successful banker. It would be logical for him to be skeptical about the ability of groups of workmen, some of whom were illiterate, to set up and manage manufacturing establishments by themselves. But Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, the British ambassador and outspoken friend of China, liked the idea and car-

ried it to Generalissimo and Madame Chiang. They liked it and Dr. Kung became one of the most active supporters of the plan. At his instigation, the Ministry of Finance approved an initial loan of half a million dollars and the co-operatives got under way in the early part of 1938.

It was a new venture with many unsolved problems. It needed capital which could only be supplied by the government and this brought up vexatious political considerations. It was at length agreed that the government would lay down some general restrictions on the kind of establishments that could be set up in certain areas. They were rules dictated by sound banking policy for they had to do with the security of the investment. As it was believed that Szechuan and Yünnan provinces could not be invaded by the Japanese, it was decided that here loans would be made for the building of permanent plants. There were areas in other provinces which were in imminent danger of invasion and here only plants which could be easily and quickly moved out of danger were approved. These were quickly named "guerrilla co-ops," and have already acquired a legendary fame which is celebrated in song and story. The regulations which were approved by the government were written by Alley and his associates. They may be paraphrased as follows:

There must be at least seven members to start a co-operative unit and the members must be serious in their intention to work and repay the loan.

Each member must own at least one share. He does not have to have cash to pay for a share. He may contribute his tools or buy a share out of anticipated profits. No one can own more than twenty per cent of the entire share capital and no member can have more than one vote no matter how many shares he may own.

Regular meetings must be held to discuss problems and plans. Members determine the hours of work and rate of pay and elect a chairman who also acts as foreman or superintendent. A member who does not observe the spirit of co-operation may be expelled by a majority vote.

Profits at the end of the year are to be divided as follows: after provision is made for payment on the loan: 20 per cent to the reserve fund, 10 per cent to the Common Good fund, 20 per cent to the co-operative federation, 50 per cent to be divided among the shareholders.

The co-ops were organized rapidly—so rapidly that the original capital was soon exhausted and more funds were advanced by the government. Americans became interested in the movement and an increasing amount of money has been supplied by American contributions. Substantial contributions have also come from Great Britain. There were some failures but the ratio of successful establishments was remarkably high. They could not have succeeded so well had it not been for the remarkable character and abilities of the Chinese workman. He is industrious, patient and methodical, able to work efficiently with the crudest of tools. He is usually a Jack-of-all-trades and if he is not he is very quick at picking up new techniques. Because the co-op was organized with the spirit that animates a Chinese family, it was easy for the Chinese to grasp the idea and adapt themselves to it. The Chinese family is a complete co-operative unit in itself with every member contributing toward the common welfare. Some adjustments were required, however. In Chungking they told me a story about one of the early co-ops where the members assembled for work and found that all were present except their chairman. As he did not appear after an

hour or two, a delegation was appointed to call on him. They knocked on his door and after a pause were invited in.

"We have come," said the spokesman, "to inquire why you are not at work, like the rest of us."

The chairman gazed thoughtfully through the window and finally said: "As your chairman, I have very heavy responsibilities, many difficult problems to decide. Therefore it is necessary for me to remain here where I can think in solitude."

The delegation held a consultation and then the spokesman said: "We have decided that you can think just as well in the shop and with your hands busy as you can think here. One of the most important rules in our society is that the man who does not work does not deserve to eat."

Since the most urgent need in interior China was for textiles, some of the first co-ops were spinning and weaving establishments. There had been a time when all clothing worn in China had been hand-spun and hand-woven. The loom was still to be found in many homes, but spinning was a handicraft that had all but disappeared. Even in a land where wages are absurdly low cotton yarn produced in modern mills was much cheaper than anything that could be produced by hand. The co-ops had barely been started when they received an order which gave them a severe test both as to the technical skill they could muster and their ability to organize for large-scale production.

In their winter retreat up the Yangtze Valley a great many lightly wounded Chinese soldiers had died of exposure because the only protection they had was from thin cotton blankets. When Madame Chiang Kai-shek was told of this, she cried:

"Why not give them woolen blankets? China has plenty of wool and there are plenty of people to spin and weave."

The result was an order from the army to the co-ops for four hundred thousand woolen blankets. Madame was right about there being plenty of people to spin and weave. But Chinese were used to working in silk and cotton rather than wool. There were no spinning wheels with which to spin the wool and no looms on which to weave it. Someone found an old American spinning wheel in remote Chengtu. It was an heirloom of American Revolutionary days, brought to China by a missionary. The co-ops had to build more than seven thousand copies of this spinning wheel and in doing this they improved on the original model. Manufacture of the spinning wheels as well as of the looms was difficult because of the lack of supplies. There was plenty of hardwood to be found in the forest-covered mountains, but there was little metal of any kind. Then, like the ravens that dropped manna from the skies, the Chinese airmen shot down a few Japanese planes which had been dropping bombs on Chinese cities. These were stripped of their aluminum, and workmen who had never before seen a piece of that metal worked it successfully. Wood was substituted for many metal parts in both the spinning wheels and the looms. More than ten thousand women were recruited to clean, card and spin the wool. More than seven hundred looms were built. While the work was going on, looms as well as spinning wheels were improved. The mental stimulus of co-operative enterprise made Chinese workmen think as they had never thought before, led to the development of labor-saving techniques. The four hundred thousand blankets were delivered on time. Since then

the co-ops have made millions of blankets for the Chinese army, in addition to an increasing quantity for sale to civilians.

The co-op textile business is already a big and growing enterprise. It has been impossible to bring in improved machinery, but blueprints have been mailed in, making it possible to copy the improved textile machinery in use in India. The Office of War Information has sent many microfilms illustrating improved machines and technical processes. The same agency of the American government has sent microfilms of tools and machines which were in use in this country a hundred years ago. In many cases these are of more value to the Chinese than the more complicated modern machines which are difficult to copy. The same planes carry to the co-ops microfilms showing how they can keep up with the latest scientific achievements. A microfilm recently flown to Chungking shows how to make the new wonder drug, penicillin. All the co-ops have been greatly handicapped by lack of machines and raw materials but have accomplished a great deal by unorthodox methods. By using odds and ends of scrap metal and substituting wood for metal in an entirely unscientific way the textile mills have been constantly enlarged and improved. Water wheels have been built to supply power. One of the notable tendencies has been for the smaller units to consolidate, creating larger establishments which operate with proportionately smaller overhead charges.

A list of the articles now being made in the Chinese co-ops would fill this page. It would read like an index to the catalogue of a Chicago mail order company. When I was in Chungking and Kunming a few years ago I saw them making bone buttons, shoes, suitcases and a wide line of army supplies. Reports of later visi-

tors show that they are now producing almost everything that was formerly imported or made in the factories on the coast which have been destroyed or are now in Japanese hands. When General Claire Chenault's air force set up living quarters in a number of military airfields in China the contract for supplying them with furniture went to the co-ops. They are also providing the American army with medical and hospital supplies, and are now making *gung ho* shaving soap for American soldiers who are in China. The Chinese army has been the biggest single customer of the co-ops, just as the American army has been the biggest single customer of American industry. Among the articles made for the army are rifles, machine guns, pistols, helmets, hand grenades, camouflage paint, belts and swords. Many of the guerrilla co-ops make pistols, stealing the metal from Japanese forces which are quartered in the neighborhood.

Once the co-operative movement got under way and the Chinese learned the benefits that all could enjoy, it spread with amazing rapidity. There was self-interest, of course, the self-interest of refugees who welcomed an opportunity to earn a living. But the patriotic appeal should not be overlooked in any appraisal of the Chinese awakening. Many Chinese put an extra effort behind the work in the co-operatives because this was one way of helping in the war against Japan. The movement also developed activities that were probably never dreamed of by its founders. On their own initiative the members of local co-ops have organized co-operative banks, retail stores, schools, hospitals, clinics, reading rooms, kindergartens and recreation centers.

As funds accumulated a number of co-ops in the same neighborhood pooled their money and organized central treasuries or banks. These provide funds which may

be used for the purchase of raw materials or loans to members. Having done this the next step was for the individual co-ops to form federations for the joint purchase of supplies and then for the joint sale of products. In one area in Szechuen there are a dozen or more co-ops which use raw cotton in the manufacture of cloth, towels, hosiery and puttees. Each formerly bought its own supplies. There were sometimes weeks of idleness because goods sold had not been paid for and there was no money on hand to pay for new supplies of cotton. Now each of these co-ops sends to the bank in which it is a stockholder regular statements as to the amount of cotton and other supplies which will be needed. The bank purchases all supplies at a great saving in original cost as well as transportation. There are no work stoppages because an individual co-op may be temporarily short of cash. Wool is purchased in the same way. Banks also act as selling agents. They do a complete banking business, will advance money for operating expenses against cargo stored in warehouses or goods in the process of manufacture. In some places they have freed the farmer from the clutches of the loan shark by loaning him money at reasonable rates of interest. The loans are made against growing crops so the industrial co-ops strengthen their contacts with the farmer. The banks which started rather humbly have grown in importance and financial stability.

As soon as it is possible to bring in machinery from overseas they will be ready to help finance the purchases. Some of them have purchasing agents in the United States now, making tentative arrangements for the purchase of secondhand machinery to be delivered after the end of the war. With lower wages and operating costs the Chinese co-ops will be able to operate profitably many machines which have been outmoded in

the United States. The architecture of the co-op banks provides the only physical symbol of the growing prosperity of the co-ops. Many of the small factories are housed in caves, abandoned temples or other makeshift quarters. But the banks are housed in imposing modern buildings in keeping with the traditional dignity of financial institutions. Some of them are planning to install safe-deposit boxes for their customers as soon as they can be imported, or some co-operative factory learns how to make them.

An unusual and important feature of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives is the provision that ten per cent of the net profits be placed in what is called the Common Good fund. This has made every unit active in social work and has knit the workers together even more closely than was possible by the common interest in livelihood and profit. Each unit decides for itself how these funds are to be used. It is significant that the first thought of the members is to provide an education for their children and many schools have been established. Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, of Brooklyn, who recently made a thorough investigation of the China co-ops, tells of schools he visited in northwest China, an area that has been unusually backward in educational matters. He found the children being taught the regular primary studies by competent teachers, paid by a federation of co-operatives. As a matter of course they are being taught the political principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, "and sing lustily the party and national songs. They are also being taught the elementary co-operative principles." Each school has its own small co-operative organization which buys and sells school supplies, cakes and sweets and other incidentals. The children are also members and elect their own officers. The older children do part-time apprentice work in near-by co-opera-

tives. Playgrounds are a part of the school equipment and games and plays are conducted at intervals by the children themselves. A number of these plays were witnessed by Dr. Carpenter. They were largely centered on the war, with anti-Japanese feeling, "but ended in a note of triumph and brotherhood. Some are purely co-operative plays. They were very well done. Thus the co-operative children are being given a primary education and taught useful skills at no expense to the state and at the same time state educational standards are being observed."

The co-ops not only maintain schools for children but are aiding the state program for adult education. Many men and women more than fifty years old are learning to read and write, and illiteracy is fast disappearing. Some of the co-ops have established reading rooms where Chinese newspapers and magazines are kept on file and libraries are being built up.

Next to education, the co-ops are interested in public health. A great many of them maintain clinics with doctors, nurses and pharmacists. Members are treated free. Nonmembers are provided with medical service at a nominal cost. One federation maintains a twenty-bed hospital, the only one within hundreds of miles. In most places where there is a clinic the members of the staff make periodical sanitary inspections of co-op buildings and the homes of members. This public health work has spread, with the result that many villages have been cleaned up and the health of whole communities has been improved. Incidentally some of the co-ops specialize in the manufacture of hospital and medical supplies. Among the things they produce are silver nitrate, vaseline, adhesive tape, medicated cotton, sulphur, alcohol and castor oil.

Leaders of the co-operative movement are full of am-

bitions for the future. They look forward to constantly increasing production and think of China as one vast network of co-operative societies, a kind of democracy of industry the like of which the world has never seen. Some of them think that the China of the future will surpass the golden age of China's fabled past. They are full of enthusiasm, which is shared by every foreigner who has had an opportunity to see the co-ops at work. Here is a vigorous constructive force which springs from the Chinese people themselves and may eventually play a large part in the political development of the country. While the Kuomintang party has made slow progress in establishing democratic machinery of government the co-ops have proven that Chinese groups have high organizing ability and are able to govern themselves efficiently. It is not at all improbable that China will eventually find its democratic machinery of government developed through her training of the co-ops rather than through purely political parties.

The leaders of the Chinese co-operatives know that when peace comes and the trade routes of the world are again open they will face a very severe test—competition with the manufactured goods of the world. They have no illusions about the seriousness of this competition and are preparing to meet machine competition with machines. After generations of lethargy the Chinese have become machine conscious. Some of the most popular books in the reading rooms of all public libraries are well thumbed copies of American machinery catalogues. The English text is understood by few, but all puzzle over the pictures and discuss the operation of machines which they have never seen. When it is possible to buy machines they will be ready for them.

They are also training boys for industrial leadership in a number of curious schools which are named after

Joseph Baillie, the dead American missionary, because they represent one of his unaccomplished dreams. Baillie was a man of unusual vision who foresaw the day when China would become industrialized and he planned the establishment of a school where Chinese boys would be trained in industrial leadership. He did not think of Chinese industrial leaders as men who would become presidents of great corporations but as men who would work to develop industries in China for the benefit of the Chinese people. Henry Ford became interested in the idea and arranged to give training in his plants in Detroit to a number of Chinese boys selected by Baillie. That was as far as Baillie's dream ever became a reality for he died before his projected school could be established. But there are now nine Baillie industrial schools in China supported by funds from the co-ops.

Baillie did not plan engineering schools with a heavy emphasis on textbooks and classroom instruction, but a school where boys could learn by doing things under the supervision of experts. That is the kind of schools that have been established and named after him. The boys who enter the schools are very carefully chosen but according to standards that would horrify the orthodox educationalist. The schools are not planned to give training to young men so that they may become industrialists and make fortunes for themselves, but to train young men who will devote their lives to the industrial development of China, become what might be called industrial evangelists. There are many Chinese boys who are ambitious for a profitless career of this sort. The schools can accommodate only a fraction of the number who would like to attend them. Preference is given to those who have suffered hardships, who can, as the Chinese phrase it, "eat bitter food." A British

teacher in one of the schools describes some of his students:

Fu-shan, who lost his mother on a ferry while evacuating his home, and was later adopted as a cook-boy in a restaurant; Chang Sheng-i who entered the army at the age of twelve, set out with his regiment to walk to Yünnan, fell out by the way, was taken into a small weaving co-op; "Small" Chang, a sturdy boy who came to the school looking out at the world through a long crop of hair over his eyes, in the style of the Shensi village children; Ying-kwei, Kuang-tsun and Kuang-han, who have wandered over half of China since the Japanese took their homes in Manchuria; Kao, Lo and Wang; three strong peasant lads from Kansu; Kung, a descendant of Confucius from Shantung, who fought in the Japanese campaign, was captured by the Japanese, released with one other boy after seeing fifteen of his comrades executed; Ch'en Hsi-kwei, only son, who helped his mother out of a village near Nanking with the Japanese only a few minutes behind . . . these and others are as good a foundation as anybody could wish for the school.

The several hundred boys now in the Baillie schools are trained to be leaders in the co-operative movement just as boys in America may be trained for the ministry or for work in foreign missions. If a youth is ambitious for wealth or for official position, the Baillie schools have no room for him. He must be willing to devote himself to the cause of co-operation, a cause which its devotees support with an almost religious intensity. There are classes in mathematics, accounting, industrial chemistry, economic geography, simple engineering, textiles, dyeing, etc. Half the time is spent in shopwork, or in visits to mines and factories. Each school has some kind of a motorcar which every student has to learn

to take down and reassemble. A number of Chinese who have had experience in the Ford plants at Detroit are among the teachers. The teachers are more like shop superintendents than schoolmasters. The graduates go to work in various co-ops, but they do not lose touch with the school, for at regular intervals they come back to get further training and to tell students about their experiences.

As producers of merchandise the Chinese co-operatives have been developed under exceptionally favorable circumstances. Without competition from more efficiently organized factories they have had no marketing problems to solve. Demand for their products has always exceeded the supply. The leaders do not fear the competition that will come with the end of the war. Many of the small units started merely as organized handicrafts but they have all improved their methods. In some places water wheels have been built to supply power for lathes and looms. Dozens of old automobile engines have been equipped with charcoal-gas generators and provide power plants. Hundreds of local units have their plans all made to purchase improved machinery as soon as the Japanese are cleared from the China coast.

One problem which troubled co-operative leaders in other parts of the world as well as in China was the control the Chinese government might exercise over the co-ops. The movement is old enough to have built up a lot of traditions and crystallized a few fundamental policies. The Chinese have made thorough studies of the co-operatives in all parts of the world, are familiar with the pitfalls which beset them. Although the movement in China could not be placed in that classification, most of the co-operatives in other parts of the world have been defensive, designed to protect the consumer

or the producer or both from the pressure of profit-making organizations. More than a hundred and fifty years ago workmen of Hull, in England, organized and operated a co-operative flour mill for the purpose, so the prospectus said, of protecting themselves "from the invasions of covetous and merciless men." The co-operator has a creed to which he adheres with a religious fidelity. He is particularly firm in his belief that the whole co-operative movement acquires its strength from below, that it is essentially a movement of the people which needs no governmental guidance or control.

The fact that the Chinese industrial co-operatives were originally financed by the government and operated under a plan which had received governmental approval was the cause of many worries on the part of orthodox co-operators. They foresaw a time when a bureaucratic attempt to control the co-ops would smother the whole movement in its own red tape, which can be just as destructive in China as in any other part of the world. The question has now been settled to the satisfaction of everyone. Having helped to get the co-operatives started, the Chinese government now proposes, as the saying goes, "to step out from under" and allow them to work out their own problems with no governmental interference. Local control is to be the keynote of the Chinese co-operatives, which the orthodox hail as a great gain for the principle of what they call "voluntary enterprise." In passing, it may be remarked that "voluntary enterprise" means to the co-operators what "frée enterprise" means to those who believe in the capitalist system. There seems no doubt but that the idea of co-operation in industrial enterprises is in China to stay; and will play an increasingly important part in the social and political, as well as the industrial development of the country.

Chapter XVI

THROUGH THE BACK DOOR TO CHINA

WE WERE traveling along a road carved out of the side of a mountain of western China, so precipitous that it had been necessary to slice a thin pie-shaped piece a hundred feet deep out of its side in order to find a level space wide enough for two cars to squeeze by each other. The newly cut wall towered on one side of us and below was a drop of five hundred feet almost as sheer as the wall itself. Any object which toppled over the edge, whether a pebble, or an ammunition truck, or a comfortable passenger car such as the one in which we were traveling, would touch nothing until it reached the bottom.

A few feet ahead of us the road disappeared for there was a sharp turn. The driver sounded his horn vigorously but just as we reached the corner a heavy ammunition truck bore down on us. We were on the wrong side—the outside—of the road and it was toward the abyss that our driver swerved to avoid a head-on collision. There was no parapet here, nothing to save us from the fatal plunge if we should get an inch too far. We nosed past the front of the truck but it had also swung sharply and the wide rear body gave us a swipe that knocked us toward the edge. One rear wheel sagged menacingly, but our driver turned the car directly toward the wall and then back again so that in an instant both rear wheels were on the crown of the road and we were on our way again to turn more dangerous cor-

ners and get enough thrills in a day to last a lifetime. Our relief at having passed a dangerous spot never lasted very long for there was always another one just ahead.

This was on the new road by which I entered China through the back door from Burma in the summer of 1939, the road which the Chinese built with little more than their bare hands so as to provide themselves with a route to the sea which they thought would be free from Japanese interference. The Chinese did not believe that Japan would attack Great Britain, and were sure that the latter would allow no interference with shipment of supplies through Burma.

There can be no doubt but that the road they built in such a desperate hurry contains more dangerous spots than any other road in the world—it might well be called the road of a thousand thrills and a thousand dangers. It is a wartime highway and has all of the menacing aspects that should be associated with war. There is nothing about it which suggests peace or security, just constant danger which sends the traveler to bed each night with thankfulness for all that he has escaped and a prayer for tomorrow. I am glad that I spent two thrilling weeks on this road—thankful that I was not one of those whose cars carried them to death on the rocks hundreds of feet below, but I have no desire to make the trip again.

At hundreds of places there are sharp turns where the road seems to end in space. There is nothing ahead of you but a chasm with rocks or trees on the opposite side. On your left is a high wall of clay or stone, every square foot marked with the scars made by Chinese hoes or chisels. On the right a view across a vast valley a thousand feet below you. Only a foot or two separates you from the edge of the road. A skid, or broken steering

wheel or a moment of inattention on the part of the driver, and the chances are that the car would roll over a dozen times before it reached the valley floor. It would be as fatal as driving a car off the roof of the Empire State Building.

The driver slows down from ten miles an hour to a point where he is barely moving, and as we turn a sharp corner the road is seen ahead, but the unimpeded view is less than a hundred yards because there is another turn at the top of a very steep grade.

And so we climb up the mountain, with constant twists and turnings. There is never a single stretch of a hundred yards that is either level or straight. Usually we hang to the edge of a road which has been chiseled out of the mountain side. There is safety on one side but death on the other. We see no wrecks of lorries which have gone over the side, for when they fall they drop so far that they cannot be seen from the seat of a passing car. A great many cars have gone to the bottom, carrying drivers and passengers with them. Usually no one in the highway management knew that there had been an accident until a checkup revealed a missing car. Rarely were they ever able to tell just where a car went off the road. These fatal accidents were so frequent that the Chinese invented a phrase to describe them. They call it "four wheels to heaven." We saw one truck disappear over a precipice just ahead of us only a few hours after we had left Lashio, the terminus of the railway from Rangoon. When this happens, you do nothing for there is nothing you can do. Just drive on and try to forget about it.

At times we pass along the narrow tops of knife-edge mountains where there is no safety on either side for there is nothing to prevent us from plunging down a precipice if the car should swerve a few feet either to

the right or the left. For many miles through the mountains the road is so tortuous, doubles back on itself so many times, with so many corkscrew and hairpin turns that the route is as confusing as a knotted string and we were constantly turning from one compass point to another. One minute the sun would be shining directly in front of us and a few minutes later it would be warming our backs. It was often impossible to tell whether the road we saw across the ravine directly in front of the driver was actually ahead of us or was the road over which we had just passed. Sometimes we climbed mountains or descended to lower levels by long winding roads but more often we merely zigzagged up or down the side. Once the speedometer showed that we had traveled twenty miles, and at the end we were just two thousand feet below the point at which we had started. We felt quite safe when we were threatened by nothing more dangerous than a mere vertical drop of some thirty or forty feet. On occasions like this I sat back and relaxed and once I fell asleep.

Such a multitude of mountains. We were always climbing and descending them and there were always more in the distance which we still had to climb, or more valleys to which we had to descend. At an elevation of four thousand feet we were on a mountain itself, and there was another range just ahead of us with half a dozen more in the distance, each rearing its jagged crest against the sky like the frozen waves of an angry sea. I marvel at the courage of the first men who crossed them and wondered what motive could have driven them toward a goal which held out so little promise. Occasionally we saw the answer—fertile land for which hungry man has always been willing to work and fight.

In the midst of mountains where there are no inhabitants, where the soil is so barren that nothing grows

but a few stunted trees, there is a turn in the road and suddenly we see that most perfect utilization of soil that man has yet devised—a terraced rice field. Here, centuries ago, tiny level patches were made in the side of the mountains by building a small retaining wall, and filling in the surface with fertile soil garnered from between the rocks by hand and carried in by baskets. The water from a mountain spring was diverted to the topmost level and then led down to lower levels until the whole was irrigated. These terraces were not built by one family in one lifetime, but were the work of generations, each adding a new level or improving the old ones until the barren hillside has been turned into a series of small productive plots on which men have been feeding themselves since before the birth of Christ. There are millions upon millions of these terraces in China, each one representing generations of labor.

Sometimes there were patches of fertile soil on small table tops a thousand feet above the level of the rivers. Here were small farmhouses making strange outlines against the sky. By some queer freak of nature there were other steep sides of mountains which provided enough thin soil for fields. The tiptilted fields were a patchwork color. Some unplanted fields were as red as a lipstick, others as yellow as the robes of a Burmese priest, some a rich gray that was almost black. Mixed with them were the brilliant jade green patches of seedling rice on the terraced plots.

With each turn in the road a new scene was brought to view like a swiftly turning kaleidoscope of the gods. Sometimes it was a tiny waterfall which tumbled down the side of the road and disappeared under a culvert. Then a rocky gorge only a hundred yards across but hundreds of yards deep, with a torrent rushing beneath it.

We travel for an hour through country in which there are no people or houses and then when on the top of the world and there is nothing but sky to be seen, we make a sharp turn and there before us is a huge valley with many small streams and lakes, several big market towns and a dozen villages. No rising theater curtain ever presented a scene more dramatically. What joy must have filled the hearts of the pioneers thirty or forty centuries ago when they crossed the barren mountains and saw this fertile land below them!

Many times scenes along the road appeared familiar to me and I was puzzled until I remembered old Chinese paintings I had studied. There is one very famous picture which shows a number of horses grazing on a hillside. The horses are all about the same distance apart, their heads turned in the same direction and all have their noses buried in the grass. I had always thought the picture unreal and artificial, for it seemed to me that in a bunch of thirty or forty horses, they would not all have their heads turned in the same direction, would not all be grazing at the same time. Then at a turn in the road I saw the Chinese painting in real life, and also saw the reason for the composition which I had thought to be false. They were pack horses whose loads had been thrown off and they had done what any hungry pack horse would do under the circumstances, walked to the nearest bit of grass and began to fill their empty stomachs.

The road of almost two thousand miles was completed in less than one year from the time it was projected and is one of the world's greatest engineering feats. How it was even surveyed in one year is a mystery to me and to others who know a great deal more about such things than I do. The only reason the Chinese knew that there might be a practical route to Burma

was the fact that pack-horse trains had been traveling the route for centuries and that when the last Ming emperor was driven from Peking by the invading Manchus, he had fled over this route to Rangoon. At the time construction of the road was begun, Japanese troops were in possession of Shanghai and the lower Yangtze Valley. The fall of Hankow was anticipated and the Japanese were putting great pressure on France to stop the shipment of munitions and war supplies over their narrow-gauge railway which runs from Haiphong to Kunming. The building of this road would link Kunming with the Burmese railways and the British port of Rangoon. Work was started on it in more than twenty places at the same time. More than one hundred thousand people were employed in a single section.

But the marvelous thing about the road is not the fact of its existence, but that it was built in a remarkably short time with nothing but human labor. A hundred steam shovels could have been used effectively, and an equal number of steam road rollers and pneumatic drills. A few thousand trucks would have been useful in carting material from one section to another. Many tons of dynamite would have been invaluable on the mountains where thousands of cubic yards of hard rock had to be blasted out of the way. There were none of these mechanical helps. There were practically no tools except the heavy iron hoes of the farmers and the chisels of the stonemasons. Instead of motor trucks there were many carts of local design, with spokeless wheels composed of cross sections sawed from the trunks of trees.

There was no dynamite available, only the noisy Chinese gunpowder which is used for making firecrackers, and by its use many huge sections of mountains were blasted away in tiny fragments. One good blast of dynamite would have done the work accomplished by a hun-

dred of these tiny charges. The rock was blasted away in cubic inches, rather than in cubic yards, in pounds instead of tons. Even this cheap gunpowder was too valuable to use in blasting boulders. The Chinese stone-masons are cunning in detecting the seams in rocks, and holes were drilled and boulders split into flagstones just as one would split a stick of wood.

The only articles of equipment which remotely resemble the appliances of modern road building are huge road rollers, to be pulled by oxen when they are available—but more often by man power—and they were made by hand. The largest ones are about four feet in diameter and weigh three tons. They were carved out of huge granite boulders which had first to be dragged from the river bed by man power. With no equipment other than mallets and chisels the boulders were rounded as perfectly as if they had been turned on a giant lathe. The first one I saw struck me as being such a monumental example of the patient industry of man that I wanted to stop and photograph it. But they were so numerous that I soon paid no attention to them. I am sure I saw more than a hundred of these rollers, and in the parts of the road which had been completed first there were many which had been worn out and discarded. Try to imagine the amount of man power required to wear out a three-ton granite road roller by pulling it over the ground!

At the time of my trip, the road had been completed so far that it was possible to ship ammunition over it with reasonable speed and safety, but work was still going on. There were very few stretches where we were out of sight of workers repairing and improving the road for more than a quarter of an hour, and I would guess that we saw ten thousand of them. The temporary wooden culverts—some of them bamboo—were

being replaced by structures of cut stone. Magnificent bridges of the same material were under construction and will last for centuries. The worst of the sharp corners were being rounded out and narrow places widened. In some places the most dangerous curves were being marked with whitewashed posts, in other places with stone walls. Everywhere trees were being planted, mostly the fast-growing willows. Their roots will help to keep the embankments in place, their branches provide shade, their trunks protect the drivers against dangerous slips and skids.

In some places there were only two or three men working on a culvert and in others several hundred chopping down a side of a hill which might precipitate a landslide during the rainy season. There was no uniformity in the human pattern of these workmen except that they were all the sons or daughters of Han. In one gang I saw a young stonemason wearing the city man's black silk cap and horn-rimmed glasses just like mine. Within a few feet of him was a withered and shapeless old woman whose breasts were exposed by her ragged garments. Around the next turn was a wild-looking mountain man wearing nothing but the skin of a leopard which had lost its spots through the wear and tear of use. Everywhere there were fresh-faced girls with colored yarn woven in their hair to advertise the fact that they were marriageable virgins. One man was entirely naked except for the tattered and dirty ribbons of what had once been a pair of thin cotton drawers.

In addition to the thousands working on the road there were many other thousands preparing road building material. Mountain men cut timbers and carried them for miles on their backs. Those which were too heavy to be carried were dragged by oxen or mules or donkeys or water buffaloes. Sometimes men or women

were harnessed to these beasts and pulled with them. In the dry beds of streams hundreds of girls and boys were panning debris as carefully as if for gold, sorting out pebbles and gravel into orderly heaps to be carried to places on the road where it may be needed when the rains come and there are washouts and landslides.

Something unexpected was always happening. We were very high in the mountains, but for once there was a fairly straight road ahead of us. We could, in fact, see it for fully a quarter of a mile at a time before some twist would shut it off from view. There was a wall of rock on one side of us and on the other side a drop of only fifteen or twenty feet so I felt perfectly relaxed. Then the car suddenly stopped when the chauffeur changed gears. We had been climbing steadily all afternoon and the engine had run a temperature. The red fluid in the thermometer had gone to the top and didn't go any higher because there was no place to go.

The self-starter whirred but nothing happened. The chauffeur opened the hood and tinkered with something and tried the self-starter again but all he produced were useless noises. I got out to stretch my cramped legs and looked for a shady place, for in these high altitudes the sun was very hot. There were no trees, not even a rock which cast a shadow, so I got back in the car. Fifteen minutes of work with screw drivers and wrenches had produced no results and I had visions of spending the night on the mountainside and waiting until morning for some ammunition truck to come along and pick us up. I forgot about the breakfast I had been looking forward to and thought about how bitterly cold it was going to be as soon as the sun went down, and of my blankets on the motor truck ahead.

Then I heard the chauffeur give a little suppressed cry and jump back from the car. It wasn't until I piled

out, as did the other two passengers, that I saw that the car was on fire, several small but indisputable flames coming from various parts of the engine. I was sure that we would spend the night on the mountainside as there was nothing we could do but get to a safe distance and watch the car burn, for we had no fire extinguisher. Then I suddenly remembered my portfolio which contained my passport and all of my money and ran back to get it. The whole thing happened in less time than it takes to tell.

The chauffeur evidently thought I was much more courageous than I really was, for when I started back he ran with me. On the way he picked up a handful of loose dirt and gravel from the road and threw into the flames. All of us followed his example, though I was the last one to join the fire fighting squad for I first put my portfolio in a place where the flames couldn't reach it if the gasoline in the car exploded. In five minutes the flames were out, but the engine was half buried under gravel and dirt and sand.

We started cleaning this out, for no particular reason that I could see except to make a useless engine more tidy. The temperature indicator was dropping to normal. When the dirt had been cleaned away, the chauffeur went to work again with his screw drivers and wrenches, and in fifteen minutes I had to go and get my portfolio for we were ready to be on our way again.

The chauffeur was born inside the walls of Peiping and saw his father killed in the outskirts of that ancient capital when the Japanese occupied the place. He had been a taxi driver there and had acquired his skill in turning corners by driving through the narrow *hutungs* of the old city. The Japanese impressed him as a laborer and put him to work helping the Japanese drivers of army trucks. He worked in this way for several weeks,

gaining the confidence of his captors so that they no longer watched him so carefully. Then one day when they were in an isolated part of the country and the Japanese driver had gone into a shop for cigarettes, he took the wheel of the truck, drove away through side roads and delivered a very valuable cargo of ammunition to the Chinese guerrillas.

After that he wandered from one place to another like the millions of homeless Chinese and now he was more than a thousand miles from his birthplace, helping to maintain the highway with which ammunition was being brought to the Chinese army. Unlike other northern Chinese, he was small and wiry. When I watched him hour after hour and day after day constantly turning the steering wheel to one side and the other he appeared to me to have the tireless endurance of steel.

We always knew when there was a good stretch of road ahead because he would sing to himself. Once when we had the unusual experience of an hour of fairly safe and easy driving, he sang steadily during all that time, giving imitations of the great Chinese actor Mei Lang-fang. In the brief stretches of good road in the mountains he sang stirring new patriotic songs—"Build China's New Great Wall" and "Awake, Do Not Be a Slave." Usually he sang in a low voice as if to himself, but occasionally I suppose he remembered his murdered father for he would shout the refrain to the mountaintops. But he never took his eyes off the wheel.

The building of the Burma Road would not have been possible without the cheerful and patient—one might say the enthusiastic help of the Chinese laborers. They were employed, impressed and conscripted, anything and everything done to keep them busy on the road. When the importance of their task was impressed on them, when the stories of Japanese atrocities in the

coast ports reached them, their latent patriotism came to life and they worked even longer hours than the already long hours they were supposed to work. They attacked hillsides of clay and cobble or rotten stone with nothing more formidable than the heavy iron hoes they had used to break up the clods in their own rice fields. They carried the clay in baskets over their shoulders, spread it on the road with their hands, smoothed and stamped it with their bare feet.

Working with the intelligent instinct of beavers and the patient industry of ants, each contributed his measure to the construction of the road. The work of each has been like a grain of sand on an ocean beach, but the total has added up to one of the world's great achievements in building. Chinese labor acquired a new dignity. The English-speaking Chinese engineers, many of them American university graduates, no longer refer to them as "coolies" but as "workers." Without exception the Chinese believe that the war with Japan will end in such a way that they will be able to call this great highway "Victory Road." No one can travel over the road without agreeing with them for a people with such indomitable perseverance and patient energy can never be conquered.

Chungking was greatly changed from the city I had seen just four years earlier. Large sections of it had been destroyed by a raid of Japanese planes which dropped bombs and incendiaries. The destruction had been most complete in the poorer sections of the city for the concussion of a heavy bomb will topple the walls of the poorly constructed brick buildings. While these structures were easily destroyed, the debris was easily cleaned up and thousands upon thousands of gray bricks were neatly piled on street corners, awaiting the time when reconstruction work could be started. A few of the mod-

ern steel and concrete buildings had been hit and there were bomb craters in some of the wide new streets which had been built to accommodate motorcar traffic. But no military objective had been hit and the electric light and water plants continued to function. The morale of the people had not been affected by the bombings though thousands of civilians had been killed and many more thousands wounded. It was quite obvious that Japan was using up a lot of gas and explosives and accomplishing very little toward the winning of the war.

Chungking is ideally prepared by nature to resist attacks from the air. The city is built on a giant hog back of brown sandstone which rises several hundred feet from the river. There are thousands of places where safe air raid shelters can easily be constructed by tunneling into the side of the rock. Hundreds of these shelters were completed when I was in Chungking and thousands more were under construction. A system of air raid warnings always gave notice of the approach of enemy planes at least an hour before their arrival. The city has suffered many air raids but with remarkably small loss of life.

Scattered all about the city were small refugee factories and mills of all kinds which had been moved from the coast, principally from Shanghai. In most cases the removal was complete. Machinery, raw materials, workmen and their families were loaded onto junks, moved up the Yangtze and transplanted here. One iron mill had a thousand workmen employed, all of whom had been living in the Yangtzepo district of Shanghai two years before this. In another place a cotton mill which had formerly operated near Hankow was being reassembled in a group of mud-walled straw-thatched buildings. More than ten thousand spindles were at work and the

managers were planning to have fifty thousand in operation in a few months. One entirely new plant was making gasoline out of wood oil. Chinese leaders in general were so enthusiastic about the industrial progress of Chungking and West China that they wanted to talk to me about that rather than about the progress of the war.

Even more remarkable than the refugee factories were the refugee schools from Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton and Nanking whose buildings had been deliberately destroyed by the Japanese. The schools had not closed down but were all functioning here in this remote part of China. In many cases the teachers and students had walked hundreds of miles, carrying their books, clothing and laboratory equipment with them. It was something like moving all the colleges and universities of New England to Albuquerque or Denver.

Chapter XVII

THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNISM

IT WAS only natural that when Russia went Communistic there should have been repercussions in China. Russia is China's nearest and biggest neighbor, and the five-thousand mile boundary line which separates the two countries gives them many interests in common. The triumph of the Communists came at a time when it would make a very profound impression on the Chinese people and especially the leaders. China had overthrown the Manchus six years before the Russians deposed the czar. But with the turmoil of bickering war lords, pressure by Japan and political chaos, the fruit of the revolution had been bitter and the Chinese leaders were baffled and disappointed. It appeared to them that their revolution had been a failure while the Russians' had been a success. The Communists' accession to political power had not been followed by long-drawn-out and indecisive civil wars as in China. They had set up a government which had all the appearances of functioning efficiently. And, according to the highly colored stories which the Communist propagandists spread in China, they had set up a giant utopia. Obviously the Chinese revolutionists might learn something from the Russians.

Sun Yat-sen sent his most trusted lieutenant, Chiang Kai-shek to Russia to make an investigation. Chiang returned home very much impressed with the Communist accomplishments, though he does not appear to

have absorbed Communist political ideas. He was especially interested in the organization of the Red army. Russians responded to this friendly gesture by instructing their diplomats in China to get in contact with Sun Yat-sen who at that time had an official position. Sun, who was always looking for advice, who would listen patiently to anyone, found the Russians friendly and apparently eager to help. They assured him that they had no desire to turn China into a Communist country but wished only to help him organize and strengthen the Kuomintang. It was on these terms that he accepted Russian help. He had little encouragement or help from others. The diplomats representing the great powers, and the international bankers who were interested in making loans to China, always had their attention fixed on the theory of a strong man who would rule China, and they recognized the various war lords who by stratagem or military strength managed to set up a temporary residence in the Forbidden City in Peking. They had backed Yuan Shih-kai as the strong man just as they later backed Wu-Pei-fu. They backed a great many others who possessed no element of strength but were enjoying temporary power. Sun Yat-sen was looked upon as an impractical visionary and had either been snubbed or ignored.

As has been seen in an earlier chapter, Sun Yat-sen endorsed Communist ideas but changed his mind just before his death. In the meantime the Chinese leaders, largely at the insistence of Sun, had admitted Chinese and Russian Communists to membership in Kuomintang. This act alone illustrates the political ineptitude of Chinese leaders of that period. Any American ward heeler could have told them that this was a sure method of wrecking their own party. The Kuomintang was loosely organized, contained thousands of members who

had vague ideas as to just what a political party was. The Communists were fewer in number but closely knit together, familiar with all the political tricks. They were more politically minded than any other group of Chinese and had the benefit of advice from the most experienced of the Russian Communists. They started to take over the Kuomintang in much the same way that small political machines have taken control of the dominant political party in many American cities. In fact, the success of the Russian Communists in China was phenomenal. One of them, Borodin, who went to Hankow to advise the Kuomintang, was soon the most powerful man in the Wu-Han cities. The adviser soon became a dictator who plotted to destroy the Kuomintang and replace it with a Communist organization.

When Chiang Kai-shek started on his northward drive from Canton in 1926 he had strong Communist support. Canton was at this time an important Communist center. The successful strikes in Hongkong had been managed by Communist labor leaders, which fact gave the party a great deal of prestige among the workmen. General Chiang's military staff included Russian advisers, who had helped him conduct the Whampoa Military Academy. But as soon as Chiang had completed his campaign and the National Government was established at Nanking he turned on the Communists. Russian consulates were closed and the Russian Legation in Peiping was raided, its secret archives seized. Many official documents found here were published. Russian and Chinese Communists were arrested and thrown into jail. An attempted Communist coup in Canton was put down with many fatalities.

What had happened? The Communists who had been admitted to membership in the party were gaining control of it. Their plots to destroy the National Govern-

ment and set up a Communist regime in China had been disclosed by the papers seized in Peiping. The promises made to Sun Yat-sen, who was now dead, had been broken. It appeared to Chiang Kai-shek and to other leaders that while they were consolidating the country and preparing for what appeared to be the inevitable conflict with Japan, there was danger that China might become one of the family of Soviet republics with foreign policy dictated from Moscow. Trotsky, who was then at the height of his power in Moscow, wanted to take up the challenge of the Kuomintang and give the Chinese Communists financial backing and military support so that they could overthrow the National Government and set up a Communist regime. With his cosmopolitan background Trotsky was obsessed with the idea of a world revolution while peasant Joseph Stalin was concentrating his attention on the Socialist organization of Russia. Stalin's policy of non-interference prevailed and the Chinese Communists got no help from Moscow. This clash is said to have brought to a climax the feud between Stalin and Trotsky, leading to the latter's fall from power and exile.

However, the National Government did not succeed in stamping out Communism, in spite of bloody purges. A few months after the attempted coup at Canton foreigners in Shanghai showed each other some curious copper coins, the like of which had never before been seen in China. They bore the design of the hammer and sickle, the well-known insignia of Communist Russia. We learned that Chinese Communist groups, driven from other parts of China, had set up a little Soviet of their own in mountainous Kiangsi Province. That was all we knew about it until a few weeks later newspapers began publishing some fragmentary stories about this curious political organization—this independent gov-

ernment which had been set up in the interior of China. Judging by what I learned later about Chinese Communists, I doubt if these stories were at all fair to the Kiangsi organization. Shanghai was so jittery about the subject of Communism that no one could think straight about it. The Shanghai idea of a Communist was a Russian who wanted to kill everyone who owned property or wore a white collar. The city was full of "white" Russians who had been driven from their homeland by the Bolsheviks, and we were all familiar with the stories of Russian terror. So that is the way we thought of the Kiangsi crowd. We were frightened for this strange organization was obviously strong and daring, had no respect for the authority of the Chinese government nor for the rights of private property. The newspapers said they had confiscated the big estates and given the land to the share-croppers. That and the fact that Chiang Kai-shek was fighting them was about all we Shanghai-landers learned about them.

The Generalissimo fought them persistently year after year. Just why he was so completely unsuccessful I have never been able to understand. The armies of the Kuomintang were much larger and much better equipped than the armies which had marched victoriously from Canton to Peking. The National Government was collecting taxes from the richest provinces. The fact that he was fighting against the Communists probably made it easier for him to get military supplies from the United States and Great Britain. Yet the Communists stayed on in Kiangsi for seven years. Then in 1933 the pressure of the Nationalist armies became too great and they decided to move—move from Kiangsi to the remote northwest, a distance of more than a thousand miles, followed all the way by the Nationalist troops. This was not just the retreat of an army; it was

the removal of an entire community, a hundred thousand people. No well-established line of communication lay along their routes; they had no railways, no highways to follow but had to travel by mule path through rough mountainous country. And they had to fight all the way. The Generalissimo's troops were hot on their trail during the greater part of this long and difficult retreat. Many stragglers were cut off and killed but about a year after the flight began the Red army reached Yenan in Shensi Province.

Here they set up the Soviet government of China, established schools and hospitals and a publishing house—and declared war on Japan!

Chiang Kai-shek continued at war with the Communists after they set up their government in the northwest. The big rewards he had offered for the heads of Communist leaders were not canceled. At the time when he was kidnaped by Chang Hsueh-liang in Sianfu, the Communists had more reason to hate Chiang than any other person in the world. They knew that if any one of their leaders should fall into his hands he would be executed. They knew that as the commander in chief of the National army, Chiang regarded them as traitors and rebels and would cheerfully have exterminated the entire party. Yet when they had him in their power the only demand they made on him was that he join them in their war against Japan. And when he refused, they turned him loose!

The kidnaping was one of those incidents that could happen only in China, could occur only when a group of strongly contradictory characters come into contact with each other in a Chinese setting. Chang Hsueh-liang, son of the old ruler of Manchuria, was personally devoted to the Generalissimo in spite of the fact that the latter disliked him and did not bother to conceal

the fact. As soon as the death of his father gave him independence of action the Young Marshal offered his services to Chiang Kai-shek and was placed in command of an army whose duty it was to carry on the work of suppressing the Communists. The Generalissimo had a thousand important projects on for he was feverishly pushing forward preparations for defense against Japanese aggression. It appears that he turned the whole Communist problem over to the Young Marshal and devoted himself to other work. But reports coming back from Sian were disturbing. The Young Marshal's soldiers, instead of fighting the Communists were fraternizing with them. The Communist soldiers had been well indoctrinated, could talk convincingly about the rights of people and their desire to fight the Japanese. Chinese soldiers were getting tired of fighting each other. It began to appear, from reports the Generalissimo received, that instead of the Communist army being destroyed, his own army at Sian would become Communist.

With typical disregard for personal danger, he flew to Sian to investigate matters and to give the Young Marshal a good dressing down. The presence of their archenemy in the neighborhood naturally aroused the Communists—not only the members of the Communist army but the Communist sympathizers among the students at Sian. There were riots and near mutiny and finally the Young Marshal kidnaped his chief. Eight demands were presented. The object of the demands was to put an end to the civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communists, and to organize a united front against the Japanese. The demands had been written by the Communists. Chiang refused to submit to threats or force. He said to the Young Marshal: "Which are you, my subordinate or my enemy? If my subordi-

nate, you should obey my orders. If you are my enemy, you should kill me without delay. You should choose either of these two steps, but say nothing more for I will not listen to you."

The Young Marshal, humble in the presence of his captive, said: "I think you are the only great man of this age, but why won't you yield a little, comply with our requests and lead us on to this revolution so that we can achieve something instead of merely sacrificing your life?"

The Generalissimo would not budge. W. H. Donald flew to Sian. He was soon followed by T. V. Soong and Madame Chiang. There were endless discussions and negotiations which came to nothing. The Generalissimo's stubbornness made it impossible for him to accept terms dictated by the Communists. But slowly he became convinced that a Communist might also be a patriot. Much to the relief of everyone he finally agreed to meet and confer with Chao En-lai, a Communist leader with a price on his head. The Generalissimo did "yield a little." He was released on Christmas Day, 1936.

Nothing since the outbreak of the revolution had created more excitement than this kidnaping. All other news was forgotten while newspapers published bulletins about the negotiations at Sian. Late on Christmas evening, about the time when most Chinese have locked their doors and gone to bed for the night, news was carried to thousands of towns and villages that the Generalissimo and his party were safely on their way back to Nanking. There was an immediate and spontaneous celebration. People woke their neighbors to tell them the news, then dressed and went out into the streets to set off firecrackers. The firecracker display was as great as that of a Chinese New Year. It was primarily a sign of rejoicing over the safety of the Generalissimo. Sec-

ondarily it was an expression of satisfaction over the fact that a serious issue between the Kuomintang and the Communists had been settled without bloodshed. The people were tired of civil wars.

The Communists gained considerable prestige over this affair. Chinese generally approved their forbearance and the wisdom they had shown when they refused to take advantage of the opportunity to kill their archenemy when they could easily have done so.¹ There was nothing to indicate that the Generalissimo's attitude toward Communists and Communism had changed but he recognized them now as a political and military force that must be taken into consideration in mobilizing all of China's resources for the inevitable conflict with Japan which was so rapidly approaching.

Formal reconciliation between the National Government and the Communists was effected a few weeks after the Sian affair. The Communists agreed to dissolve the Soviet government which they had set up in Yenan, and to place the area under the control of the National Government, with the provision that it was to maintain a democratic form of government with complete local autonomy in the Yenan area. The Communists also agreed to discontinue all attempts to overthrow the National Government and to abandon the policy of land confiscation.

When actual fighting with the Japanese began, less than a year after the kidnaping, the agreement between the National Government and the Communists was amplified and strengthened. The declaration of prin-

¹ An incident similar to the Sian kidnaping occurred at the inception of the revolution of 1911. The troops which mutinied at the Wuchang garrison were without a commissioned officer to lead them. They kidnaped Colonel Li Yuan-hung and threatened to cut off his head unless he took command of the revolt. He did this with great reluctance, but was successful and played a prominent but not very glorious part in Chinese politics for the following twenty years.

ciples, which was written by the Communists and accepted by the Kuomintang is worth quoting in part, indicating as it does political and social points on which the two parties were in agreement:

In order to safeguard the independence and freedom of the Chinese nation, a national war of liberation shall be proclaimed. Only as the result of such a war can the lost provinces be restored, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country be maintained.

A democratic form of government shall be set up, a National Convention shall be convoked to draft and promulgate a constitution and to formulate policies for the salvation of the nation.

In order to promote general welfare and to make possible a life of happiness for the people, relief shall be afforded to all those suffering from famine or flood, social life shall be stabilised, industries connected with the national defence shall be expanded, and grievances of the people shall be redressed.

It is important to note that the Communists not only did not promise to disband but definitely identified themselves as a political party which had compromised its principles because of national expediency. "The Communist Party," said the declaration, "is prepared to fight for the realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles because they answer the present-day needs of China." As I understand it, the Communists look on the defeat of Japan as the most important of the present-day needs of China, and when that has been accomplished they will feel that they have full freedom of action. However, they not only promised to discontinue but they *disowned* the policies of land confiscation and insurrection against the National Government.

The Generalissimo, who is noted for his brusqueness

rather than his tact, was not very gracious in his acceptance of this friendly political gesture on the part of the Communists. In an interview he gave to the newspapers he did not accept the declaration so much as a patriotic gesture as surrender to the ideas of the Kuo-mintang. At the conclusion of his interview he was rather unnecessarily patronizing and inserted an oblique interpretation of Communist promises for he said:

"Since the Communists have discarded their former opinions and have come to realize the importance of national independence and national interests, I hope they will sincerely carry out what is contained in the declaration, and further expect that they will work in unison with the rest of the nation to accomplish the task of national salvation."

This was no warm and generous welcome to late enemies who had become comrades in arms. It was a grudging acknowledgment of the fact that they had promised to help, accompanied by a gratuitously offensive expression of the hope that they would be sincere. The Communists, who had declared war against Japan two years before this, let the situation rest as it was. Their Red army which Chiang Kai-shek had driven out of Kiangsi Province was renamed the Eighth Route army and incorporated into the military forces of China, but with the same old Communist generals, for whose heads the Generalissimo had offered such liberal rewards.

The Communist armies, under a new name, fought well against the Japanese but they did not carry out the brilliant campaigns for which they were given credit. The guerrilla style of warfare in which they excelled struck the popular fancy of both Chinese and foreigners. There were hundreds of stories of daring sorties by small groups of guerrillas—stories of great interest,

but of less importance than the humdrum fighting by the regular troops. The red and pink press all over the world played up Communist feats of arms, gave the impression that the Chinese Communists were bearing the brunt of the battle against the Japanese. As Chungking was looking to other nations for help, this did not make the officials of government any too happy.

Another cause for unhappiness was the fact that the Communist victories weakened rather than strengthened the National Government. As they drove the Japanese out of territory they had occupied, the reclaimed area was not added to that part of Free China governed by Chungking, but to the area ruled by the semi-independent Communist government at Yenan. Thus each advance of the Communist armies added strength to the insurgent government which might, when it had enough strength, overthrow the National Government and set up a Communist regime. Fears that this might occur were strengthened by many books and magazine articles published in the United States. A number of sympathetic visitors went to Yenan and were deeply impressed by the social experiment being tried out there. The books and magazine articles were highly laudatory—dripping with so much praise that I, for one, could never take them very seriously. It was all perfect, too perfectly perfect to be wholly convincing.

These visitors also found out much that was wrong with the National Government at Chungking, spread ideas of doubt and mistrust that had not been heard of before. Some Americans said we were backing the wrong horse, that we should recognize the Communist government. This is just the sort of gossip that Washington loved to listen to at the cocktail hour and these stories traveled far and made the solution of the Communist problem all the more difficult.

In the spring of 1939 I made a trip to Chungking and spent two hot summer months in the Chinese capital. The touchiest subject you could mention in that super-heated hotbed of Chinese politics was that of Communism. No one wanted to talk about it. But my old friend, Hollington Tong, the Vice-Minister of Information, arranged for me to meet Chao En-lai, the Communist leader who had been instrumental in securing the release of the Generalissimo when he had been kid-naped at Sian. Chao had some kind of an official post with the National Government, I have forgotten what it was, but his title was of slight importance. His real position was that of ambassador from the Communist government in Yenan to the National Government in Chungking, and spokesman for the group at Yenan.

I found Chao the most interesting official in Chung-king. He was housed very modestly. There were no soldiers guarding his entrance. Of course all Chinese officials avoid ostentation. Only a few days before this I had had tea with the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang and had noted that I entered their private resi-dence with less formality than would be expected of a visitor arriving at the home of some Long Island tycoon. At the modest home of the Generalissimo there were a couple of soldiers on guard who, as I remember it, stood at attention as I walked to the entrance. A servant took my name and I was ushered into the drawing room.

The quarters of the Generalissimo and Madame could not be called luxurious, but the quarters of Chao En-lai were austere. The afternoon I called on him they were also considerably upset because two days before that a small Japanese bomb had dropped in one corner of the place and smashed things up. I asked him if he had been in his bomb shelter when the bomb dropped and he laughed and said he didn't bother with bomb

shelters. Then we began to talk. It started, according to my plan, as a formal interview. This was the first known and admitted Communist I had ever met. I had read about them, about their cleverness and guile and was prepared for him—I had written out and memorized a sequence of questions which would enable me to keep control of the conversation and trap the damned Communist into admissions. I may as well admit that I wasn't a fair interviewer to start with, for I was dead set against Communism and all its works.

The first thing I asked Chao about was the policy of land confiscation which his party had followed when they were in Kiangsi Province but had abandoned when they got to Shensi.

"Was that," I asked, "because there were big landed estates in Kiangsi and only small landholdings in Shensi?"

"No," he said, "it was because we decided that the policy of confiscation of estates was wrong. It worked a hardship on a great many innocent people, created in others wrong ideas about the ownership of property."

"But if you are going to carry out your policy of giving the land to the men who till it, how are you going to accomplish it without confiscation of land?" I asked.

"That is very simple," he said. "Since eighty per cent of the people of China are farmers, we believe that the prosperity of the farmers is of first importance and the best way to bring about prosperity is to enable the farmer to own his own land. One way to accomplish that is for the government to buy up big tracts of land and sell the land to farmers at easy terms."² The second part

² There are no accurate statistics as to landholding in China and one can get the most contradictory information about it. In traveling about the country it was always easy to pick out the areas where the landlords were powerful, for here you would see great houses in striking contrast to the modest houses of the tenant farmers. In southern

of the program, Chao said, was the question of taxation. He said the Communist—the Chinese Communist—idea was that the man who tilled his own soil should pay a lower rate of taxes,³ than the landlord who merely rented his land to a tenant.

"Is that the way," I said, "that you want to accomplish confiscation by another name?"

"Emphatically not," said Chao, "China is an agricultural country. All of her wealth is in her soil. The man who owns his own plot of land will prevent soil erosion, he will see to it that the land he owns is kept fertile and follow crop rotation. The tenant farmer who gives the landlord a share of the crops is not interested in preventing erosion or keeping up the fertility of the soil. All he is interested in is in growing as much as possible with the least possible expense. The result is that the wealth of China is dissipated and the landlord who is responsible should pay."

That is the primary creed of the Chinese Communists and it is one that Karl Marx never thought of. In this connection it will help the reader to understand the place of Chinese Communism if he will keep in mind the fact it is a party of peasant farmers rather than of workmen. The latter are, of course, included, but they are numerically so small in China that they are of minor importance. Another interesting fact about Chinese

Shantung a few people owned a lot of land. Farther south, in prosperous Kiangsu Province the situation was quite different. About ten years ago I leased six acres of farm land near Shanghai, and in order to do this I had to sign leases with twenty-one different owners. I was unable to secure one little plot of less than half an acre because it was jointly owned by seven brothers, one of whom was half-witted and stubborn.

³ The principal sources of revenue for the Chinese government comes now, as it did in imperial days, from taxes on the land. The tax is based on the old idea that the land belonged to the emperor. Resources from the Chinese Maritime Customs were earmarked for the service of foreign debts.

Communists is that they are not scattered about the country but are all to be found in the one restricted section in the northwest.

There are a good many differences of opinion as to the closeness of the ties, or the existence of any ties between the Communists of China and the Communists of the Soviet Union. Chao En-lai told me that the Chinese Communists were completely independent and I believe that is true. Russia began giving a kind of lend-lease help to China long before we did. With the Japanese occupation of Indo-China and the closing of the Burma Road it was necessary to send all these supplies over the old camel caravan route through Turkestan, which passes very near the Communist area but, according to all information, nothing was ever sent directly to the Communists. Everything was delivered to the high command of the army in Chungking. There was a great deal of Russian influence in Chinese Communist circles in 1925 when the party was new and the Chinese of all parties and classes were much less inexperienced politically than they are at the present time. But if Chiang Kai-shek hadn't driven them out of the country when he did, the Chinese Communists would probably have discarded Russian leadership at an early opportunity. From the time of Marco Polo on, the Chinese have always made use of foreign advisers. There are several hundred of them on different government pay rolls at the present time. But while a Chinese will take kindly to advice, he resents dictation and rebels against it.

The military alliance between the Communists and the Kuomintang worked to the satisfaction of all Chinese for several years. The Communist armies, under the command of well-known Communist generals, took orders from the Chinese high command and fought the

Japanese very effectively. But at the time I saw Chao En-lai in Chungking, trouble was brewing, distrust was growing. Conditions of discord since then have steadily grown worse, have been one of the principal factors in weakening the war effort. The Communist generals, according to the Chungking version of the controversy, began to recruit soldiers and add to the strength of their armies without the consent and against the instructions of the high command. In this connection it must be remembered that for several years China has had more troops than she could adequately equip, that military strength has been measured in terms of arms available rather than numbers of men. Then the Communist generals began working out their own strategy and sent their troops into areas designated for occupation by other Chinese forces. As a result one Communist army was disbanded and one commander placed under arrest, which naturally created bad feeling and might have resulted in an armed clash.

The Communists, on the other hand, say that the Chungking government has not treated them fairly in the matter of supplies. They say the only reason that they are not now fighting the Japanese more effectively than they are is because they are restricted in ammunition to that they can make themselves in their hidden guerrilla arsenals or take from the Japanese. Chungking retorts that Communist armies, having refused to obey commands, have become technically rebels who might conceivably resort to civil war and overthrow the government. Therefore it would be contributing to military insecurity to keep the Communist forces armed to the teeth. Were it not the fact that they might have given the Japanese some information they did not possess, they might also have added that the whole Chinese army was perilously short of ammunition. In all of these

charges and countercharges there is the proportion of insincerity, exaggeration and false statements one might expect to find in any country when a violent political controversy occupies the center of the stage.

Aside from these charges of military double-crossing there are social issues which cause a cleavage between the dominant Kuomintang party and the politically important Communist party. They both adhere to the political doctrines laid down by Sun Yat-sen, and there is no serious difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the first two of his "three principles." Now that the unequal treaties have been abrogated the first principle, that of nationalism, will be practically accomplished with the defeat of Japan. The draft constitution, which is to be adopted by a national assembly after the conclusion of the war, provides for a democratic form of government in which all parties will have an opportunity for representation. No suggestion has come from Communist or any other sources that this draft constitution is not acceptable, though there are some who complain that it is not democratic enough. The constitution has been under discussion for more than a quarter of a century so there has been plenty of time to discuss every detail of the document.

The causes of controversy arise over the third principle, which Dr. Sun finally called the "People's Livelihood," after first giving it the label of "Socialism." Within the framework of this principle there is abundant room for controversy and for honest differences of opinion, both as to what should be done and as to what Dr. Sun really had in mind. One of history's many minor tragedies lies in the fact that this great patriot worked so hard and so long to achieve unity in China and then made the greatest possible contribution toward disunity

by his initial support of Socialism and his later repudiation of the Marxist idea.

The problem of the livelihood of the people is a much more simple one in China than in many other countries because it is almost entirely an agrarian problem. Four-fifths of the people gain their livelihood from farms. The landowning gentry represent the vested interests of China for their investments are far in excess of those of any individual industry or group of industries. This unhealthy preponderance of tenant farmers and concentration of wealth in the hands of landed gentry is not a situation peculiar to China nor is it anything new. The Kuomintang is not responsible for it, nor were the Manchus, for it existed long before the Manchus came to power. But the Communists have made a political issue of it and they are supported in a way by some of the more liberal elements in the Kuomintang. The Communists say that the Kuomintang, which started as a fiery revolutionary party, has become conservative with the enjoyment of power and represents the vested landlord interests rather than the peasants'.

Further political problems in China revolve around relationships between the Communists and the Kuomintang. It is significant that foreigners are more concerned about this than are Chinese. Some of them see in the situation a conflict of ideas that can be settled only by a civil war. Chinese political leaders are increasingly irritated by the amount of attention foreign newspapers, magazines and books, especially American, give to discussions of a Communist problem which they say is purely domestic. Most Chinese leaders make light of the idea that a civil war will be fought. The remarkable thing—the important thing—is that after centuries of

political incoherence, the vast majority of the Chinese now have definite ideas as to the form of government which they believe is best for their country. If a civil war is fought over these issues it will be quite different from any of those that have been fought in the past.

Chapter XVIII

CHINA OF THE FUTURE

CHINA has been at war longer than any of the other United Nations. Her losses in killed and wounded undoubtedly exceed the losses of all the others who are fighting Hitler and Tojo. Her prewar industries have been almost completely destroyed. Five million homes have been burned or razed to the ground. More than fifty million people fled from the coastal region before the advancing Japanese armies, disrupting the established order of thousands of communities. And as a final thorn in the crown of misfortunes, runaway inflation has sent prices soaring and made the currency of the country practically worthless. In her long and troubled history, China has never at any one time suffered such a variety of misfortunes.

And yet, in spite of all this, we may be sure that when a victorious peace is attained, China will recover more quickly than any other of the war torn nations. She will probably return to something like normal peacetime activity much sooner than we will, in spite of the fact that we have been barely touched by the destructive forces of war, and our mainland has not been seriously threatened with invasion. China will be in full production long before we have retooled our machines for the needs of a peaceful world. She will be shipping us wood oil, and tea and bristles, and other products, before we will be able to ship her much of the new machinery she will need to carry out her program of industrialization.

The reason for this paradoxical statement may be explained in very simple terms. China is an agricultural country with four-fifths of her people living in farm villages and supporting themselves with farm labor. While the destruction of her industries was fairly complete, it affected a smaller proportion of her people than would be affected in America by the destruction of the factories of any one large American city. There were never as many factory workers in China as in Jersey City, nor as many motorcars as in Westchester County. Her material losses were actually small because she had little to lose. Factories, buildings and forests can be destroyed by fire and mines can be flooded by water, but the soil of a country is not so easily destroyed and the soil of China constitutes her wealth. China has been ravaged before and has always made a quick recovery.

If the savage Japanese army had had an opportunity to devastate any prosperous farm region of the United States as they have done in China, complete recovery could not be expected for several years, possibly a generation. Try to imagine a county in Indiana, let us say, where every building and fence has been destroyed, all livestock killed and all tools stolen!

But there are no farms in China that are prosperous as we understand the word. The usual Chinese farm, and there are few exceptions, consists of less than an acre of land on which the farmer devotes his first attention to growing food for his family. He may also grow a little cotton from which to spin and weave their clothing. He will usually have one money crop, which may be wheat, cotton, cabbage, rice, beans or eggs. Because so many of the people live on subsistence farms, growing their own food, China's inflation has not had the tragic consequences that would follow even a mild inflation in the United States.

Destruction of the improvements and equipment of a Chinese farm does not involve any great loss because there is little to destroy. There are no fences; property lines are marked by small irrigation canals, narrow paths or by rows of scrub mulberry trees whose leaves feed the always hungry silkworms. The farmers' house consists of a floor of hard pounded clay, walls of sun-dried brick covered with a thatch of reeds and rice straw. A few farmers will own a water buffalo, a few will own a pig or two.

A simple farm establishment of that kind is easily and quickly restored and at no cost except the labor of the farmer himself. Along the banks of the near-by canal or beneath the topsoil of his own farm, he will find an abundance of stiff clay from which to manufacture bricks. Reeds and straw for the thatched roof are available everywhere. During the short and unproductive winter months the farmer can rebuild his home and be ready for the spring planting. The first harvest season after the last Japanese are driven out will show something approaching normal production. China will have for sale products which all the world will need, and will be one of the first if not the first of the warring countries to become a good customer. The fact that railways have been destroyed or worn out will not be much of a disadvantage in getting these products to market. China's railways never carried more than a small fraction of her commerce. She had a big domestic trade long before a wheel was turned by steam. The traffic was carried by rivers, creeks and canals and these waterways cannot be destroyed.

What will this new, peaceful China be like? What will China be like at the end of this century which has been marked by so many world changes and conflicts? This is a question of worldwide interest and impor-

tance. The war has gained for China the spiritual leadership of East Asia where millions will follow her leadership. Will she be democratic? Will she be Communistic? Will she become a strong military power and threaten the peace of the world as her small neighbor Japan has done? Now that Americans have given up the special rights they enjoyed, what will be their position? Can the American businessman return to China? What will be the opportunity for the sale of foreign goods and for foreign investments?

Fairly conclusive answers to all these and many other questions can be found in the geography of the country, its cultural heritage, its economic position and in long-range plans for political and industrial development which have been worked out by Chinese leaders. A good many wrong answers may be found if one gives too serious attention to current events and controversies and personalities. Of one thing we may be sure. Neither in its political nor industrial organization will China be like any other country. Those who try to picture China as being like some other country always end in confusion. Modern China, like ancient China, will be unique and independent in thought. A hundred years ago Chinese complacently believed that all worldly wisdom was to be found in her centuries of past experience. They believed that all of their thinking had been done for them, that all they had to do in order to enjoy the highest personal development was to follow the rules and observe the precepts which had been laid down for them by their ancient sages. Contact with Western civilization shattered their traditions. The discovery that this was not true left the Chinese discouraged and baffled. During this period the Russian Communists tried to do all the political thinking for the Chinese and for a time appeared to be succeeding. But when the Chi-

nese awoke to a realization of the trap they had fallen into, the reaction was swift and decisive. They did not follow the Communists nor will they blindly follow any other ideologies.

There is, in my mind, no doubt but that the government of China will eventually be democratic. It would be idle to pretend that it is at the present time and incorrect to assume that the present government sets a pattern for the future. It was organized, following many years of civil war, at a time when political unity was most desirable and has been continued as a wartime government with political unity a necessity. It is actually a provisional government, set up and continued during periods of national emergency. And in spite of its dictatorial character, it is the most representative government China has ever known. That the government considers itself as only provisional is amply proven by the fact that it has signed its own death warrant in the many official promises to return full sovereignty to the people soon after the Japanese invaders have been driven out. It has not only promised to abdicate but has set up an orderly and legal method by which the government which succeeds it may be constituted.

Most foreigners who express doubts about China's being a democracy do not realize that China has for centuries been a democracy in everything but the form of government. All of the great sages of the country upheld the dignity of the common man and his right to revolt against oppressive rulers. The emperor held supreme power, which was universally recognized, but it was also universally believed that even the son of heaven lost his mandate to rule if he became tyrannical and oppressed the people. "When a ruler treats his subjects like grass and dirt," growled old Mencius, several hundred years before the birth of Christ, "then the subjects should

treat him like a bandit and an enemy." Not one of the Chinese philosophers, statesmen and politicians who have lived since that period has ever challenged this legalization of violence as a defense against oppression. Another statement by Mencius has gone unchallenged through the centuries and has colored the political thinking of all Chinese. He said: "The people count for most, the state counts for less and the king least of all." People got their heads chopped off in other countries for saying things like this, but Mencius died of old age—and his ideas lived after him.

The teachings of Mencius and other Chinese sages did not provide the only historical foundation for a democratic China. Feudalism was abolished in the second century B.C. because it made possible armed revolts by powerful princes against the central government. While its abolition strengthened the central government, it also made China a country in which there was no class division. The way in which feudalism was abolished showed great political acumen, an ability to make radical changes without disturbances:

In order to avoid an abrupt departure of policy [says Dr. Hu Shih], the political wisdom of these statesmen devised a peaceful method for abolishing . . . feudalism. This new procedure consisted of abolishing the law of primogeniture and dividing the hereditary fiefs equally among the sons of deceased and banished princes. After a few generations of equal division of feudal estates among the male heirs, all of the . . . principalities were reduced to political nonentity and were peacefully subject to the civil administration of governors and prefects appointed by the central imperial government. Feudalism has never been revived during the past twenty-one centuries.

This abolition of feudalism soon after China became a united nation has had permanent effects on the life of the people and the institutions of the country. I cannot do better than to continue to quote Dr. Hu Shih.¹

This tradition of equal division of hereditary property among the sons of a family was adopted by all classes of people and has worked for equalization of wealth and landed property. Primogeniture seems to have been swept overboard with the disappearance of ancient feudal society, and this new procedure came to be recognized as just and equitable. Because of this, no great estate could stand for three generations of equal division among the sons. The result of this has been a total absence of large holdings of land by wealthy and powerful families for any great length of time. This economic equalization has tended greatly to bring about a social structure in which there are practically no class divisions and not even any enduring divisions between the rich and the poor.

About the same time that feudalism was strangled by this indirect method, the rulers of China, the emperors of the great Han dynasty,² introduced another far-reaching reform which brought a kind of intellectual and cultural democracy into the machinery of government. This was accomplished by civil service examinations. Under this system, which was strictly followed by the Han and succeeding dynasties, everyone who wanted to receive an official appointment was required to pass an examination in the Chinese classics, which included the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. Anyone could enter these examinations and anyone who passed them

¹ Edmund J. James Lectures on Government, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Ill., 1941.

² Chinese date the existence of China as a nation with the Han dynasty, and commonly refer to themselves as "the sons of Han."

with high honors was certain of an official appointment. Elaborate precautions were taken to prevent fraud. The contestant was placed in a small cubicle and the entrance bricked up so that he could not communicate with anyone.³ Before presenting the examination papers to the judges they were copied by an amanuensis so that the judge would have no inkling as to the identity of the contestant. The only advantage the wealthy enjoyed in these contests for official position was that the sons of wealthy families had more time for study and could employ the best teachers. But this did not mean that the wealthy held the preponderance of official positions or the balance of political influence. Members of poor families often selected a promising young relative and banded together to support him and pay for his education so that he might compete in the examinations and, if successful, add to the honor of the clan name. Thus during more than two thousand years of their history the clans of China have enjoyed a kind of representative government in that there has usually been some member of the clan holding an important government position. Some of the greatest statesmen in China's history came from humble families.

A third factor in the historical development of democracy in China was the local or village government, an institution probably as old as the civil service system itself. In any event it is so old that the story of its origin has been lost in the historical mists of the past. Each village always provided its own machinery for keeping the peace and for settling petty local disputes. The villages were small and compact communities for, in a political sense, there were no big municipalities. Large cities, like Canton and Soochow, were merely

³ These examination cells, covering many acres, were to be seen in all the provincial capitals in 1911.

collections of adjoining villages. In area the villages were not unlike wards in an American city but they were much more independent of any central authority. Each village had a council of elders and a "headman," who occupied about the same positions as aldermen and mayor in an American town. But again there was a difference, for the headman was responsible for all village affairs. He was street commissioner, fire chief, tax collector, and head of the Public Works Department. In many places the selection of members of the council and of the headman was a very simple matter, for all the residents of a village would be members of the same clan and have the same family name. In cases like this the headman would naturally be the patriarch of the clan. In the south there were some places where village meetings were held, not unlike New England town meetings. In other places the teahouses provided ample opportunities for discussions of village affairs.

The headman looked out for disturbances of the peace and was especially vigilant in keeping an eye on strangers whose presence had not been accounted for. In some places he was assisted by constables, but that was the exception rather than the rule. There were hundreds of square miles of territory in China where no policemen or constables were ever seen.⁴ The villagers settled their own problems. Few crimes or misdemeanors were important enough to come to the attention of the higher authorities. This was also true of civil litigation. Nine-tenths of the disputes over money matters or business contracts were settled by the trade guilds or the local chamber of commerce. Proof of the efficiency of the village government has been provided

⁴ That was true in modern times. I know many populous towns in Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces which had no policemen until a few years ago when the building of motor roads made a police force necessary.

in the bitter years of war which China has suffered. In hundreds of places which have been occupied by the Japanese army, all other civil authority has disappeared but the village government has carried on. In the period of Manchu rule the headman represented the villagers in resisting the exactions of the officials. In occupied China they have played the same role in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

It is on this historical foundation that the democracy of the future will be built. The program of procedure was worked out a decade ago and has been officially and semiofficially confirmed so often that it has acquired something of the dignity and authority of a protocol. The first step will be to convene what the Chinese refer to as a "constituent assembly," in other words, a constitutional convention. This body, representing all of the provinces, will adopt a constitution. This document, which was drafted more than ten years ago, has provided the machinery for the present government of China with the exception that all sovereignty has been exercised by members of the Kuomintang party.

The constitution provides for the election of a national congress by universal suffrage and secret ballot. This body will consist of about two thousand members, that is, one from each *hsien* or county. It will be more like an American political convention than like any other representative body with which the West is familiar. Members will be elected to serve for six years and will meet every three years for a session of one month though other sessions may be convened. This congress will not be a legislative body, but will perform most of the functions performed by the American voters. It will elect the president and various other officers of the government and select a much smaller body

which will serve as the legislature or lawmaking body. However, all sovereignty will lodge in congress as deputies of the people. Considering the isolation of many sections of the country, the difficulties of transportation and the political inexperience of the people, a system of national elections like that in the United States would not be practical.

The executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government are much the same as in the United States, except that the president exercises a great deal more power and the government is more centralized. On the other hand, it will be much easier to unseat the president by impeachment proceedings. Two additional branches of the government, or *yuans*, as they are termed in Chinese, make the constitution of China unique. These are the Examination Yuan and the Control Yuan, both adapted from the old monarchial system. The Examination Yuan is a modernization of the old system of civil service examinations, grafting civil service onto a republican form of government. This not only has the sanction of ancient usage but the approval of the Father of the Revolution. It will be recalled that Sun Yat-sen made a very sharp distinction between sovereignty and ability. To express it another way, he did not believe that the man who could command the most votes for an office was necessarily the right man for the position. Examination Yuan takes care of that problem in a very effective way. Anyone who wishes to become a candidate for office must first prove his fitness to perform the duties of the office by passing a civil service examination. This will automatically eliminate the unfit, and Chinese who are enthusiastic interpreters of the constitution argue that it will discourage the growth of political machines and the purchase of votes. This sys-

tem of examinations is in operation by the present provisional government and, according to the *China Year Book*, 18,744 have passed the examinations for elective offices and 21,650 have qualified for appointive offices. The Examination Yuan also issues licenses to doctors, lawyers, pilots, etc. One of the provisions is that no one who uses opium or any other narcotic may take an examination.

The other unique branch of the government is the Control Yuan, performing in a modern and more systematic way the functions of the censors who were attached to the old imperial courts. The censors, who were free from interference by any other officials, were supposed to keep, and did keep, a censorious eye on all governmental affairs, and to write memorials directly to the emperor when they saw anything going wrong. They could even criticize the emperor himself, though it must be said that some of them lost their heads by doing so. The Control Yuan can do a great deal more than write memorials. It has the powers of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and all of the Congressional investigating committees ever set up in Washington. It can investigate charges of official misconduct and take action by removing those who are found guilty. Members of the Control Yuan are appointed by the president for an indefinite term and under about the same conditions of personal security as are enjoyed by judges in Federal courts in this country. Aside from investigating charges of official misconduct the Yuan performs the very important routine duty of auditing the books of all government departments and provincial governments. In this way it keeps a very tight control over all governmental expenditures. One of its functions is to follow up all public work projects, check

on costs and performance of contracts. It has access to all official files and correspondence and may at any time interrogate any official. Even the presidential office is subject to its investigations.

Like the Examination Yuan, the Control Yuan is functioning as a branch of the National Government and has not been idle. In the ten years ending in 1941 it has received 22,619 complaints from the people. More than eight thousand cases were investigated. In addition to this the Control Yuan brought charges against about two thousand public functionaries with the result that more than a thousand of them were retired to private life. This does not necessarily mean a very high percentage of official corruption, for the Control Yuan looks out for inefficiency as well as dishonesty. When I was in Chungking in 1939 I saw this branch of the government in prompt and vigorous action. There had been an unnecessarily large loss of life in Japanese air raids because a very important official had been dilatory about the construction of air raid shelters. Everyone knew who was to blame and everyone wondered what, if anything, would be done. According to conventional Chinese ideas the man who was responsible was such a high dignitary that he could not be made to suffer loss of face. So we wondered what kind of face-saving device would be thought up. In a small isolated community like Chungking, no opportunity for gossip is overlooked, especially if it has political implications. This was a particularly juicy piece of conversational fat to chew on. But we had just begun to enjoy the full relish of controversy when there was nothing more to talk about. The official had been fired; actually fired, without being given an opportunity to resign. There was no more dillydallying about the building of air raid shel-

ters, and though the Japanese raiders continued to come over with great regularity there was never again a big loss of life.

It will have been seen that the Chinese constitution is not a copy of anything, but a plan of government which has been carefully and thoughtfully worked out to meet the particular needs of the country. Not only that, but the machinery of government which it sets up has been tried out by the Kuomintang regime for more than a dozen years and has worked better than any government China has ever known. All that now remains appears to be rather simple, the surrender of the sovereignty of the country from the Kuomintang to the people. That brings up the question which worries a great many Chinese and foreign friends of China. Will the Kuomintang, at the end of the war, peacefully surrender its power? This one party, whose members hold all the offices in the government, comprises less than one per cent of the population of China. Members of the party are inclined to look on themselves as members of a ruling class, occupying about the same position as the scholarly officials who held all the official positions in the Manchu days.

Inside the party itself there is little power exerted from below. Chinese leaders grow highly indignant if the government is referred to as Fascist, yet it is certainly more Fascist than democratic. That is partly due, of course, to the fact that China is at war, with a large part of her territory overrun by enemy troops, and has been fighting for her very existence. A battlefield does not provide an appropriate locale for setting up a new government. No matter how ardently the Generalissimo might desire to see the country governed along democratic lines it has been necessary for him to assume dictatorial powers. Having governed the country for so

long it is natural that the Kuomintang leaders will surrender their posts to others with reluctance. The experienced man always distrusts the inexperienced, is afraid that no one can quite take his place.

But if the small group which at present governs China is planning to continue themselves and their successors in power they are deliberately building up a great deal of trouble for themselves. The teachings of Sun Yat-sen have been adopted in toto as the creed of the party. Assuming that the Kuomintang is developing along Fascist lines, this would be about like the adoption by Hamilton's Federalist party of the teachings of Thomas Jefferson. The Kuomintang leaders continually talk democracy. Scarcely a week goes by that some leader does not make a statement about progress that is being made in setting up democratic machinery or repeats old promises. And although little is heard about it outside party circles there are many members who persistently remind the party bosses of their obligation to establish a workable democracy. One of these in Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat-sen, a filial supporter of his father's policies, a stout champion of democracy.

I think that, on the whole, more Chinese are interested in industrial than in political development. In the years just preceding the Japanese attack there were few Chinese who were not benefited by the industrial awakening of the country. And during the long and bitter years of war thousands of Chinese have looked forward to peace as a time when that industrial development can be resumed. Sun Yat-sen laid down the principles for this as he did for political development. The great library of books which he left at his death showed that he had made a very thorough study of the industrial revolutions in the United States, England and Europe. In his many writings on the subject he urged

his fellow countrymen to try to reap the benefits of industrial development without suffering any of its evil by-products. He hoped to avoid the building up of mill towns and the erection of factory slums.

In order to control the development of industries and assure proper consideration of social values he argued that the government should occupy the key positions in the whole economic field. While Dr. Sun proposed this as a matter of policy it is definitely a policy of expediency. There is no private capital in China to finance large enterprises and the completion of the program already worked out will require the investment of billions. The four big government banks dominate the financial field. The government owns and operates all the railways and telegraph lines in the country and a large part of the telephones. They are all a part of the communications system like the post offices. There has been no suggestion from any quarter that future railway extensions should be carried out by anyone but the government. The government also owns the more important deposits of coal and iron and will exploit them for the public good. The government will control heavy industries, such as iron and steel mills. This may sound as if the Chinese government had copied a few pages from the book of the U.S.S.R., but they have not. All China's planners agree that a line must be drawn somewhere between public and private enterprise.

It is a very important line [said a prominent government official in a recent speech in New York].⁵ It has to be drawn and probably will be drawn sometime later. There will be, I should think, a great deal of variation from time to time. There will be times when we think that public enterprise should be limited and private

⁵ Dr. Tsingfu Fu-tsing, director of the Political Affairs Department of the Executive Yuan.

enterprise should spread and expand. Then there will be other periods when other forces will be at work, pushing the boundary line in another direction, enlarging the field of public enterprise. Nevertheless we can take it for granted that the field of public enterprise in China will be bigger than in the United States but never as big as in Russia.

China's capital needs for the first decade of peace have been semiofficially estimated at various sums ranging from five to ten billion (U. S.) dollars. That is a spectacular amount of money even in these days of stratospheric military expenditure. But when the huge amounts are broken down into the hundreds of individual projects which have been so carefully planned the sums do not appear fantastic. A very large part of the money will go for the purchase of machines of all kinds. For example three thousand railway locomotives will be required. The textile industry will need several hundred thousand spindles just to supply the mills which have been destroyed. Motor trucks and busses will be needed in lots of tens of thousands. There will be employment for thousands of engineers.

Liberal plans have already been worked out to provide for the investment of foreign capital in light industries. No narrow nationalistic restrictions have been set up, as had been done in almost all Latin American countries. For example, an American may be manager, managing director or president of a company organized under Chinese law. There are few countries south of the Rio Grande where Americans enjoy a similar privilege. All Chinese leaders are fully aware of the fact that in order to carry out their long-cherished program of industrialization and development they will need both foreign capital and foreign technical skill.

China is confident of her future and so are most of the foreigners who, like myself, have witnessed the progress of the past thirty years. There may be troubled days ahead, but nothing can gainsay the fact that China is a continent and a civilization—a self-respecting and industrious people who are moving forward.

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